

The Historical Outlook

A JOURNAL FOR

READERS AND TEACHERS OF HISTORY AND THE SOCIAL STUDIES

Continuing The History Teacher's Magazine

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The Forty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association

Reported by PROFESSOR ARTHUR P. WATTS
University of Pennsylvania

The forty-seventh annual meeting of the American Historical Association and the various historical societies jointly associated with it, held at the University of Toronto, December 27-29, was the most successful convention of these groups held in recent years. This was not owing to an exceptionally high level of the papers read in the different sessions, for there was the usual proportion between the few brilliant and the many merely acceptable papers. The favorable reaction to the recent meeting was primarily the result of the splendid arrangements made by the University of Toronto for the entertainment of the approximately four hundred delegates, and the skillful planning of the program committee, by which less than the usual time was allotted for the reading of formal papers, thus affording greater opportunity for worthwhile discussions. In addition, the unexpectedly mild weather which prevailed during the meeting, added greatly to the enjoyment of the visitors many of whom had come prepared to combat near zero temperatures.

The high light in the social events was the dinner so generously tendered the visiting associations by the University of Toronto. In a large refectory rivalling in beauty the famous dining halls of the Oxford Colleges, the delegates enjoyed a Christmas dinner, which was made doubly pleasing owing to the pageantry that accompanied it, for each course was carried into the room with Scotch bag-pipers preceding the waiters. The Honorable H. J. Cody, President of the University of Toronto, acted as chairman, and toasts were proposed by the Honorable Vincent Massey and Sir Robert Falconer and responded to by Charles A. Beard and Dixon Ryan Fox. Following the Convocation at which the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on Professor Herbert E. Bolton, and the Presidential address, the members of the associations were enter-

tained at a reception and smoker which was made exceptionally interesting by the exhibition given by the Canadian Olympic swimming and diving team.

As for the program, the committee at last, fortunately, struck a happy balance between the "lecture method" and the "discussion group." In nine of the twenty-two sessions less than three formal papers were read; and in the majority of these new interpretations of wide appeal were presented rather than additional factual information on relatively minute topics. The desired result was attained. Many of the meetings were marked by a lively discussion from the floor thus affording an escape from too much formality and a welcome professional relaxation.

It is impossible in a short report to do justice to all the conferences and special sessions. Fifty-five formal papers were read on topics which reasonably well covered the field of history, though, quite naturally, there were more than the usual number devoted to Canadian history. Cultural and social history were, perhaps, too much neglected as only one paper was with the former and none with the latter interpretation, while economic and political history each had fifteen papers, questions connected with research methods and training required thirteen papers, diplomatic history eight, and religious history four.

From the beginning of its history the United States replaced the old formulas of diplomacy such as dynastic interest, national honor and other typically European doctrines with the concept of "national interest" which played an important rôle in the development of a foreign policy according to the thesis so ably developed by Charles A. Beard in the first session on American history. Enlarging on this idea, Professor Beard showed that the Constitution was founded upon conceptions of such an

interest; Washington, Hamilton and Madison made it their guiding star, and the Whigs and Republicans later adopted this idea from the Federalists. Ralph H. Gabriel further developed this line of thought in his paper on *National Interest and Recent American Thought*.

It is remarkable that since the publication of Professor Turner's *Significance of the Frontier in American History* in 1893, few real attempts have been made until the past two years to disprove or to limit the application of the hypothesis underlying that famous study. The blind acceptance of Turner's theories, however, is now not as common as it was formerly, as shown in Frederic L. Paxson's paper entitled *A Generation of the Frontier Hypothesis*. Turner was primarily interested in showing how the history of the United States was affected by those pioneer communities which gradually became integral parts of the Union and taught that the frontier was the most important factor in American evolution as it contributed largely to four developments: the making of a composite race called Americans, the broadening of democracy, the recreation and evolution of a new society, and the development of American nationalism. Each of these ideas was examined critically by Professor Paxson who then declared that the Americanizing influence of the frontiers needs to be re-examined in the light of material which was not available in 1893; the engendering of democracy needs to be studied in comparison with the history of European democracies in the 19th century who approached the same goal by the different route. The frontiersman came usually from the middle class, the same group which in the longer settled East were equally desirous for democracy. In holding that the frontier was an important social laboratory and that it wielded a weighty influence upon nationality in the United States, Turner was, admittedly, on firm ground. Loaded with dynamite as was this critique of Turner's thesis, it is surprising that very little discussion followed the reading of this paper.

Two papers of real interest were read in the session on Colonial History. Notwithstanding the fact that the "Iron Act" of 1750 has been repeatedly cited as the classic instance of British stupidity on the part of the mother country's relations with the colonies in the 18th century, L. H. Gipson set forth the theory that this judgment is unwarranted when the motives of the English government are properly understood. Convinced that the British iron industry was altogether too dependent upon Swedish and Russian sources of supply for bar-iron, and fearful that the English iron industry was destined to extinction owing to the rapid development of competition in the American colonies, the Act was passed which forbade the subsequent erection of any rolling

or slitting mill or steel furnace in America in the interests of a self-sustaining empire. At the same time, however, it offered every encouragement to colonials to take over the production of crude iron hitherto supplied from Europe by permitting the importation into London of pig-iron and bar-iron from America free of all duties. The Act should be regarded as an example of imperial economic planning whose objectives in themselves were not unworthy. Philip Davidson, speaking on *Propagandists of the American Revolution*, declared that the Revolution would not have been a success had it not been for the skillful newspaper articles and pamphlets written by such great propagandists as Samuel Adams, Thomas Paine and William Livingstone which made a strong appeal to crowd psychology and stirred up a hatred of the English. By this press propaganda the country was pulled together in 1778 when the colonists seemed to be almost hopelessly discouraged.

A number of papers dealt with the economic history of the United States and Canada. Although many of the projects for the relief of agriculture during the Populist period were worthy of serious consideration, according to John D. Hicks, all of them were so closely associated with soft money panaceas that they were utterly unworthy. The thesis was developed that something might possibly have been done to cure the evils from which agriculture suffered had the reformers given less attention to currency reform and more time to the devising of some feasible plans for short-term and long-term farm credits. In view of the present depression, Miss Larson's paper on *Investment Banking in the United States, 1861-73* was of particular interest. The United States before the Civil War was largely dependent on great foreign bankers for financing its large corporate enterprises. The sale of war bonds in the period from 1861-1864, however, brought about the development of specialized, aggressive investment bankers who turned to buying United States bonds for European capitalists when their business decreased sharply after the war. They met strong competition from representatives of European banking houses in New York, and the Europeans laid the foundations for such great banking houses as J. W. Seligman and Co., Kuhn Loeb and Co., and J. P. Morgan and Co. When the business in government bonds decreased, American bankers turned to high pressure railroad financing thus bringing about that over-expansion which was one of the major causes of the panic of 1873 and brought ruin to many of the war bankers. Another of our national crises was explained in R. C. McGrane's paper on *Some Aspects of American States Debts in the Forties*.

Fred Landon's paper, *The Effects of the Civil*

War in the United States Upon Agriculture in Canada, showed that Canadian farmers in 1860 expected to reap large profits from the sale of wheat to the United States, but the crops of Upper Canada were below the average in 1862-1864, while at the same time the American crops were more than sufficient to meet domestic needs and made it possible for the Americans to export wheat to supply England's shortage of 1861-62. This situation led to a determination in Canada to change the agricultural system by the adoption of two measures, the introduction of new varieties of farm machinery, and the change from dependence on wheat to more diversified crops. American and Canadian fur trade was essentially different in nature, according to the paper read by Harold A. Innis, for the former lacked continuity, was often hampered by Indian wars and was controlled by one man or one family, whereas the latter was much more permanent in its development.

The economic history of Europe was considered in three papers. The old interpretation of the complete and rapid maritime decline of Venice following the discovery of the Cape Route by the Portuguese was challenged by Frederic C. Lane in a paper entitled *Venice, Spices and Ship-timbers in the Commercial Revolution*. On the contrary, the volume of Venetian trade did not undergo a sharp decline; in fact in the 16th century the trade in spices was equal to what it had been before the discovery of the all water route to India, but owing to the scarcity of suitable timber in Italy, the Venetians came to depend more largely on foreign built ships, particularly from Dutch ship-yards. A particularly noteworthy paper was W. I. Slifer's discussion of the *British Coal Miners and the Government, 1840-1860*, in which it was clearly shown that the famous Parliamentary report (1842) on mining conditions in England has never been critically nor thoroughly studied in its entirety in spite of the fact that it is often referred to as the best known and most essential blue-book of the 19th century. Propagandists seized on the most unpleasant paragraphs of the report to hasten by legislation the correction of a situation which was in reality already improving slowly by the initiative of the industry itself. The result was the almost equally famous Mines Act of 1842. The success of this Act was due to the wisdom of the government in placing its administration in the hands of commissioners appointed by the government at Westminster rather than leaving it to local justices. Most of the improvement in mining conditions followed the appointment of Hugh Seymour Trevenen, a cultured, humane gentleman who spent thirty-one years in the service of the working classes and whose advice was often sought in subsequent social legislation, "an excellent illus-

tration of how British social legislation is based upon administrative experience, utilized by the Cabinet."

Several papers were devoted to questions of a diplomatic nature that affected England, Canada, or the United States in the 18th and 19th centuries.

That Southern Ontario narrowly missed becoming a part of the United States in the peace negotiations following the American Revolution owing to Franklin's demands that all Canada and Nova Scotia should be ceded to the United States is generally known. The delay occasioned by Jay's insistence on changes in the wording of Richard Oswald's commission has usually been held responsible by historians for the failure of Franklin's plan. A new interpretation, however, was advanced by Samuel Flagg Bemis (*Canada and the Peace Settlement of 1782*) who presented evidence that in reality Jay so feared Spanish attempts to extend their possessions to the east of the Mississippi that he was willing to let go of Canada in order to make sure of Britain's acceptance of the Mississippi boundary. Nelson Vance Russell showed what an important factor the Royal Navy was in the period between 1760 to 1796 in giving Great Britain exclusive control of the Upper Great Lakes and the upper Mississippi; a control which preserved the monopoly of the fur trade for Quebec and Montreal merchants until the Jay Treaty. English relations with the United States for the years 1806 to 1808 were made clearer in I. J. Cox's paper *Charles Williamson, Western Watchdog of the British Empire*. Fired with the desire to fight the French in the New World, Williamson aimed to link the commercial interests of New England, and New York with the Canadian provinces and the West Indies in order to check the pro-French policies of Jefferson and his Virginia advisers.

In the paper on *Belgian Neutrality, Its Origin and Successive Crises*, W. E. Lingelbach gave a new interpretation both as to origin and development. In place of the generally accepted view that Talleyrand originated the idea and carried it through, he showed that throughout the entire Conference, Talleyrand was radically opposed to the plan finally adopted, and that the inception of the idea apparently occurred in the discussions of the delegates of the four powers over the need of maintaining the checks to French ambition established after the overthrow of Napoleon; that Palmerston was actually delegated by them to prepare Talleyrand's mind for the idea before bringing the matter up in the Conference. The latter part of the paper stressed the views entertained at different times by the guaranteeing powers of their obligations under the neutrality guarantee. In this connection the dif-

ference of the English attitude in 1887 and 1914 aroused considerable discussion.

Palmerston and a Concert of Powers on the Eastern Question, 1833-38, was the title of a careful study by F. S. Rodkey, in which it was shown that for five years the English statesman's vigorous policy of opposition to Russia delayed concerted action by the Powers in Eastern affairs, and was largely responsible for the failure to stave off the crisis of 1839-41. *British Propaganda and the Oregon Treaty* was the subject of a sound paper by Frederick Merk who used newspaper sources to throw new light on the Oregon controversy. British public opinion had become inflamed over the question due to the tone of the press, but when the British government came to see that it would have to back down to some extent, it prepared the way by using the newspaper of the country to change public opinion.

The complexity of *Canadian Policy in the Far East* was most clearly presented by Norman MacKenzie. Having stated that there are four outstanding factors in the formation of any Canadian foreign policy, i.e., the desire for isolation from the responsibilities of Europe and Asia, the political attachment to Great Britain which involves Canada in the consequences of British foreign policies, the economic and geographic attachments to the United States, and finally, Canadian participation in the collection system of settling international controversies such as the World Court and the League of Nations, Mr. Mackenzie proceeded to show how these considerations affect Canadian policies with regard to Far Eastern questions. An example which Europe might well follow to advantage in order to achieve a satisfactory solution of difficult questions is to be found in the work of the International Joint Commission of the United States and Canada. Unfortunately the people on each side of the border are not adequately informed regarding the most successful manner in which the commission has been settling the numerous delicate questions which have involved the two nations since 1912. Lawrence J. Burpee, the commission secretary for Canada, who has been connected with the commission since its organization, gave a résumé of the work of the body in his paper on the *Origins and Significance of the International Joint Commission*.

Of the papers concerned with the history of Hispanic America two were of especial importance, Roy F. Nichols (*First United States Consuls and Trade Relations with Spanish American Empire 1799-1809*) showed that the relations of the United States with Spanish America began with the commencement of the American Revolution and did not wait until the revolts of the Spanish colonies in the 19th century. In spite of the difficulties of organiz-

ing trade in South America due to the bitter opposition of the Spanish government, the knowledge gained of conditions in the southern continent made it possible to work out plans to extend trade when those colonies achieved their independence. *The British Bondholders and the Roosevelt Corollary of the Monroe Doctrine* was the subject chosen by J. Fred Rippy, in which he threw new light on the situation in San Domingo. When Roosevelt undertook to straighten out the affairs of the island government, the British bondholders were delighted at the prospect of recovering their money, but were bitterly disappointed when it was discovered that the costs of American administration left no money by which the bonds could be redeemed.

The sole paper devoted to cultural history was that by Albert Hyma entitled *Erasmus and the Oxford Reformers* in which was presented a refutation of the idea advanced by the great English, German and French scholars that Erasmus' visit to England influenced him to break with scholasticism, to abandon the theological systems of the Middle Ages, and the conventional ideas of monasticism. Professor Hyma held that Erasmus was never interested in nor a sincere supporter of scholasticism and that there is no evidence of a revolution in his mind resulting from his first visit to England. Neither did he owe much to Italian humanism, but gained his ideas on primitive Christianity principally through imitation of French and German mystics.

In the sessions on Church History four papers were discussed, of which two were particularly interesting. *The Causes of the Puritan Failure in England, 1640-1660* (M. M. Knappen) were not in political, but in social and religious issues. The growth of freedom of thought, combined with the increase in wealth among the English country gentry, merchants and lawyers following the discovery of America and the water route to India, made them impatient of any social or religious control such as Puritanism wished to introduce. In the paper on *Juan de Zummarage, the First Archbishop in the Western Hemisphere* B. W. Wheeler gave an account of the activities of the Archbishop in combating the vice and corruption of the judges who ruled Mexico just before the middle of the 16th century.

Of the numerous papers dealing with method and technique in social studies the most interesting and enlightening was the report on a survey entitled *Some Educational Factors Affecting the Relations Between Canada and the United States*, by Arthur A. Hauck. It is a truism that education is a factor of prime importance in the friendly relations in two countries which have so many problems in common as have the United States and Canada. Since these problems will have to be solved by the young people

of the present day it is certain that satisfactory solutions will be found only if there is an adequate knowledge of each other's country. Are the schools in the United States and Canada meeting their obligation in this respect? The study made to answer this question brought surprising results which were the bases of the paper read in the joint session of the *National Council for Social Studies and the American Historical Association*. The investigation was conducted on two lines. First, tests of information were given to 1267 American and 1168 Canadian pupils in their final year of secondary school to determine what each group knew regarding their neighboring country. Second, to what extent do the text books in each country give the history and geography of the other nation? The results of the investigation may be summarized as follows: American students graduate from high school without having gained even an elementary knowledge of Canada and with no conception of the extent and significance of the Canadian-United States relationship. On the other hand Canadian students are fairly well informed about the United States by the time they leave the high school. American ignorance regarding Canada is primarily the result of the scant attention paid to Canadian history and institutions in our history texts. One paragraph on the paper is worth quoting *in extenso*: "No radical changes in courses of study or in textbooks are necessary to give students of Canada and the United States an adequate background of knowledge in regard to their neighbor. If American histories would treat the historical development of North America more nearly as a unity, Canadian affairs would receive sufficient attention. A chapter on Canadian-

United States relations might well be included as is done in most Canadian texts. American geographies could give a brief but reliable description of the Canadian government, and do justice to the importance of Canada from the standpoint of trade relations and economic development. While the historians of both countries treat Canadian-United States relations in the spirit of impartial scholarship, they devote too much space to disputes and conflicts." The report ended with the plea to treat North America more nearly as a unity.

The most insistent demand that the history of the New World should be treated as a unity was made in the brilliant survey of the history of the Americas in Professor Bolton's Presidential Address entitled *The Epic of a Greater America*. In a speech bristling with illustrations drawn from every period of the history of the two continents Dr. Bolton showed the need for abandoning the chauvinistic attitude of histories written from the viewpoint of sectional interests. The frontier of the United States was not unique in its significance. In fact there were many frontiers even in the area which now comprises the United States and each one was of great importance in the development of American civilization. The colonies that revolted from England in 1776 were only 13 out of 30 British possessions in the New World. Seventeen colonies revolted from Spain in the early 19th century. To get an adequate picture of American culture and interests the history of the New World must be studied as a unity.

The forty-eighth meeting of the American Historical Association will be held this year at Urbana, Illinois.

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Notes on Periodical Literature

By GERTRUDE BROMLETTE RICHARDS, PH.D.

Something new in viewpoint at least, is found in the *Classical Journal* for December, where Frank Burr Marsh writes of "Gangsters in Roman Politics," choosing as his gangster par excellence, Clodius, whose activities indicate a break down of republican machinery. Clodius he says, was never closely associated with Caesar, never capable of making serious trouble by himself. In the first two years of his activities he was more or less the tool of Crassus; in the second period, from 53 to 52, he was under Pompey. Probably he had some power of his own since without it he would hardly have been worth employing, but he was never an independent factor in the situation. The disorder in Rome of which he was an active promoter, was almost purely political and always served the political interests of someone in the background and who may reasonably be suspected of supplying most of the money.

In the December *Nineteenth Century and After*, Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe summarizes his impression of the November election results in America, in an article entitled "Hoover to Roosevelt." Mr. Hoover he considers to be a representative "outside American," whose fame was made by two remarkable examples of humane and supernatural service, and yet who ran his election campaign entirely on materialistic appeals of still better times to come, and who then, in his first year of office, after the crash of 1929, allied himself to the most unreasoning support of economic nationalism. He says further that the President found himself utterly unable to cope with a hostile Congress; says that his Cabinet proved an ineffective institution for grappling with the

clamant needs of the country; and that he never had an adequate estimate of the scope or depth of the national calamity which darkened his administration. Roosevelt he characterises as a vital, expressive, open-hearted American, well-informed, a man of many interests, who knows European needs and affairs and who has had an exceptional experience in public office. His term should last until 1937, but to Mr. Ratcliffe, the bare thought of what may happen to the American system before the dawn of that year is enough to stagger any mind. He does not give the details of such probable calamities, however.

"The Red Armies of China," by George E. Sokolsky in the December *Asia*, calls attention to famine and floods as factors in the situation, as well as unemployment and economic distress. For five years these red armies have been waging civil war for the establishment of the Soviet Republic of China, until now the Communistic Party has become an indigenous Chinese movement, led by Chinese intellectuals but finding greatest strength among the dispossessed tenants and the workless bandits of the south.

Professor Bernard Fay is so well known to American historians that his article anent their problems in the December *Harper's* will be read with interest, even though his readers may wince at his frank and convincing criticism of certain "outstanding" historians. What Professor Fay has to say of our enjoyment of history and the crying need for intelligent chroniclers of our national progress, will be more satisfying.

The Guardian of the Constitution: Article V

By ALDEN L. POWELL
University of Illinois

For thirteen years the Eighteenth Amendment has clung tenaciously to its niche in the National Constitution. Tons of abuse have been heaped upon it.¹ Yet little criticism has been directed toward Article V, that part of the Constitution which has been the most formidable barrier to the removal of this unpopular amendment. Article V prevents a majority made up of nineteen-twentieths of the whole people from changing a single comma in the text of the fundamental law. For 143 years Article V has forbidden popular participation in the national amendment procedure. When Congress submits to the States for ratification an amendment which will repeal the Eighteenth Amendment, such an action may be in response to the demands of an overwhelming majority of the American people. Yet this fact alone does not assure repeal because States—geographical districts—not population, are the “preponderant element” in our amending procedure. If thirty-six states favor a change, national prohibition will end; but if thirteen states do not favor a change, the Eighteenth Amendment will remain with us. Scanning the vote of the States in the recent Democratic convention, we find that a majority of the delegates from eleven states did not favor the “wet” plank of their platform. In the Republican convention, a majority of the delegates from thirty-two states were “moist” only.² These facts suggest that it is not improbable that at least thirteen states may array themselves against a repeal amendment when that day of reckoning comes, unless the recent sweeping Democratic victory in forty-two states may be regarded as evidence that only six states do not favor repeal.

We say that States, not populations, determine the fate of an amendment. If the thirteen *least populous* States with a combined population of about six million people, less than half that of the State of New York, should unite in opposing an amendment, they could effectively frustrate the will of the 116 million people in the remaining thirty-five states. Although proposed amendments never have produced alignments as exact as this, it is evident, nevertheless, that the greater part of the people of the country can always be thwarted by a combination made up of a larger number of states but decidedly fewer people.

What is the nature of an amending procedure

which may allow a small minority to prevent millions of people from changing their scheme of government? With the “lame-duck” amendment now before the States and a repeal amendment coming on, it is timely to note here some of the aspects of the amending machinery, the greater part of which is outlined in Article V of the Constitution itself, although certain practices have become established by court decisions and usage.

REVOLUTION *vs.* AMENDMENT

The question of changing the mode of operation of political institutions has recurred under all forms of government and has received variable answers, according to the respective conditions and circumstances. Many peoples resort to violence. Revolutions occur regularly in South America. Our own political system emerged out of Revolution. But since 1787 we have been content to remedy the major defects in the framework of our government by a more peaceable means which we call “constitutional amendment.”

We have no grounds to imagine that during the Revolutionary period there could have been a ripened public opinion on the subject of amending constitutions.³ It was a popular belief in the early colonial days that a government once established should last forever, and nothing save revolution could change it. The early State constitutions, framed hastily, often in a slipshod manner, contained no provision whatever for their future amendment.⁴ After a few years, however, State constitutions began to contain rude methods of amendment,⁵ and when the framers of our National Constitution met in Philadelphia in 1787, realizing they had not drafted a “perfect” document, and recognizing that the economic and social problems of the future could not effectively be foreseen, they, too, provided a method for changing their finished work, in order that the new government might be capable of adaptation to future needs without resort to revolution and bloodshed.⁶ And in view of the misgivings of the framers as to the imperfections of the new Constitution, it is interesting to note that neither any American state nor any major nation have made so few changes in their basic law as has the national government.⁷ The Hon. James M. Beck relates the following anecdote:

"Have you a copy of the French Constitution?" was asked of a bookseller during the Second French Empire, and the reply was: "We do not deal in periodical literature."⁸

The United States has been through five major wars since 1787. The Civil War nearly tore the Constitution into shreds. The territory of the nation has increased 400 per cent and the population has increased over 2900 per cent since 1787. Economic depressions have strained and tugged at the governmental moorings; political fantasies have arisen and expired; the social and economic life of the country has undergone a complete transformation since 1787, yet the form of government of the United States has remained fundamentally the same. But while averting revolution, Article V has permitted only comparatively few innovations to seep into the Constitution, and it was not until the Eighteenth Amendment with its attendant evils took refuge behind the ponderous, almost immovable barrier that its undemocratic nature was realized. There have been numerous attempts to amend Article V itself, but all have come to naught.⁹

Article V provides two methods for proposing amendments to the Constitution, *viz.*, "On the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States," Congress "shall call a convention for proposing amendments," or, Congress may itself propose amendments "whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary." The first method of submitting amendments has never been utilized because two-thirds of the States have never joined at any *one* time in applying for a national convention to consider any *one* proposition, not even prohibition repeal.¹⁰ Proposal of amendments does not, therefore, rest entirely with Congress. Upon the demand of thirty-two States, a "dry" Congress would be morally obliged, regardless of its own sentiments, to convene a convention to consider the problem of repeal. However, all of the amendments adopted thus far have been proposed to the States in accordance with the second method, *viz.*, by a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress.¹¹

The course of a proposed amendment through Congress is arduous indeed. Several years may elapse between its introduction and final approval. Fourteen years after its initial proposal in 1895, Congress passed favorably on the Sixteenth Amendment.¹² Popular election of United States Senators was first proposed in Congress in 1826, and in 1912, after eighty-six years, Congress submitted the Seventeenth Amendment to the States.¹³ The first prohibition amendment was introduced in Congress in 1876, and forty-one years later such a resolution was passed by Congress.¹⁴ The Nineteenth Amendment first appeared in Congress in 1868 and

after being introduced 118 times in the course of fifty-three years, it was finally passed by Congress in 1919 and sent to the States for ratification.¹⁵ One hundred and thirty-seven years, 1795-1932, elapsed between the introduction and favorable passage by Congress of an amendment designed to change the commencement or expiration of the official term of Congress.¹⁶

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS

In 1897 Professor H. V. Ames published a treatise on the 1300 amendments introduced in Congress during the first hundred years of the Constitution's history.¹⁷ Since 1889 approximately 1400 amendments have been placed before Congress, making a total of nearly 3000 of which only nine have been adopted since 1791.¹⁸ Little wonder that Woodrow Wilson described Article V as a piece of "cumbrous machinery."¹⁹ Some of these proposed amendments were clearly unworthy of serious consideration by Congress. More than fifty amendments would bring about national prohibition of polygamy.²⁰ Others have proposed the abolition of dueling,²¹ voting in the House and Senate by electricity,²² inclusion of the Deity in the Preamble,²³ changing the name of the Republic to the "United States of the Earth,"²⁴ and national regulation of the carrying of concealed weapons.²⁵ One peace-loving solon proposed an amendment which provided for the abolition of the "Army and Navy, including the Army and Navy schools of organized murder."²⁶ The establishment of a first, second, and third vice-president was proposed by a Congressman who must have possessed a strange sense of humor.²⁷ Election of the president by lot has been suggested, one plan providing that Senators have three-year terms, with one-third retiring annually. From these retiring senators, "one should be chosen by lot as president for the ensuing year, in the following manner: Each of these senators should, in alphabetical order, draw a ball out of the box, one of which was colored; the senator drawing the colored ball should be president."²⁸ Popular election of postmasters, internal revenue collectors, marshals, and district attorneys has also been suggested.²⁹ In 1917 Mr. ("Alfalfa Bill") Murray of Oklahoma proposed an amendment providing for cumulative voting. According to his plan, every citizen over twenty-one years of age was to have one vote, with an extra vote for each of the following merits: Being married; being the head of a family with at least two minor dependent children; for having mastered a certain curriculum to be uniform throughout the United States, and for having served in the Army or Navy against a foreign foe.³⁰ In 1914 Mr. Morin of Pennsylvania introduced an amendment designed to dispossess any citizen, or combination of citizens, "of all 'wealth,

property, power, influence, or honor' gained through dishonesty."³¹

Perhaps it is needless to say that most of the above resolutions never survived the anaesthesia administered by the Committee on the Judiciary, and perhaps rightly. But the misfortune is that amendments intended to establish prohibition repeal, national regulation of child labor, uniform marriage and divorce laws, and abolition of the electoral college, all widely favored and highly desirable, have usually suffered a fate similar to that of their less-welcome brethren, or have succumbed on the floors of Congress.³²

SUBMISSION OF AMENDMENTS TO THE STATES

When two-thirds of both houses of Congress "deem it necessary," and they seldom do,³³ that an amendment be submitted to the States, the problem arises whether this means two-thirds of the *entire* membership or merely two-thirds of a quorum, the latter requiring, according to the Constitution, only a simple majority of each house to be present.³⁴ It might seem that a proposal to change the nation's fundamental law is of sufficient gravity to merit the earnest consideration of two-thirds of the entire membership of the House and Senate, but the Supreme Court has held that the two-thirds provision is complied with if only two-thirds of a quorum are present.³⁵ In view of this, an absurd situation could be created if we may assume that fifty-one Senators are present when a proposal to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment comes to a vote in the Senate. Thirty-four Senators would be a sufficient number to satisfy the "two-thirds provision," even though thirty-four Senators may represent only seventeen states. On the other hand, with fifty-one Senators present, eighteen Senators of the nine least populous states may prevent the Senate's concurrence to such a proposal. With the entire membership present, the Senators of seventeen states could block any move for repeal.

If the joint resolution proposing an amendment to the States is passed by both houses of Congress, it receives the signatures of the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House. It is then transmitted to the Secretary of State of the United States, who, in turn, sends certificates of the resolution to the governors of the several States, although there is no law imposing any duty on the Secretary of State to transmit to the governors the evidence of the passage of such resolution.

All bills passed by Congress must be sent to the president for his signature before becoming law, but a joint resolution proposing an amendment does not require the approval of the president.³⁶ Congress has acted from the point of view that such a resolution is not in any sense *legislative*. In 1865,

the amendment submitted by Congress relative to slavery having been inadvertently presented to President Lincoln for his approval by a subordinate officer of the Senate, Senator Trumbull of Illinois, secured the adoption of a resolution which declared that Lincoln's approval had been unnecessary and should not constitute a precedent for the future.³⁷ No matter, then, how the president may regard the Eighteenth Amendment, there is nothing he can do, legally, to effect or prevent its repeal. As the titular head of his party, his influence may play a great part in arousing Congress to action, although a Republican president and a Democratic Congress ordinarily would make little progress in any direction.

The problem might arise where Congress, having submitted an amendment to the States, might seek to recall it. Whether Congress may do this is a debatable question. Perhaps the better opinion is that Congress has no power to recall amendments, since the recall would withdraw them from the consideration of the States, and thus render their adoption impossible.

TWO METHODS OF RATIFICATION

Article V not only provides two methods of proposing amendments but also stipulates two methods of ratifying amendments—*viz.* "by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress." It will be observed that Congress, and Congress alone, may decide which of the two methods is to be followed. We find, also, that Article V makes *no* provision for ratification by popular referendum.

Congress has never proposed that ratification be accomplished by conventions, although this method has many desirable features. If an amendment were to be ratified in this manner, the States, in assembling their conventions, would be likely to follow much the same procedure used in calling conventions to amend State constitutions. As all the nineteen amendments to the Constitution have been ratified by State legislatures, this method is of considerable importance.

When the Governor receives the certified copy of the proposed amendment, he transmits it to the legislature, usually accompanied by a brief message in which he may urge approval or rejection. If that body has adjourned for the biennium, he may call a special session. Many governors acceded to the popular demand and called special sessions in 1920, in order to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment in time to permit women to vote in the presidential election of that year. If a "dry" governor should refuse to transmit the certified copy of a

"repeal" amendment to the legislature, the courts have held that no one could compel him by *mandamus* to do so, because neither the Constitution nor the laws of the United States impose such a duty upon him. In transmitting the amendment, he is merely acting as a private citizen who happens to be governor at the time. In *Ohio v. Cox*,³⁸ the court refused to sustain the effort of a citizen to enjoin Governor Cox from submitting the proposed Eighteenth Amendment to the Ohio legislature, it being held that a citizen has no power to enjoin the governor from such action, because even in the absence of action by the governor, the legislature could act on the proposed amendment.

As soon as the joint resolution ratifying an amendment is passed by both houses of the State legislature, and the presiding officers have affixed their signatures thereto, that instant marks the legal beginning of that State's ratification. The Eighteenth Amendment, which was to take effect one year after ratification, became effective on January 16, 1920. On January 17, 1920, Dillon, a bootlegger, was arrested on a charge of transporting liquor. When his case came to trial, he demanded his freedom on the ground that, as the Secretary of State had not proclaimed the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment until January 29, 1919, the amendment was not in effect until January 29, 1920, and therefore his arrest on January 17, 1920, was not justified. Unfortunately for Mr. Dillon, he was arrested just one day too late because Nebraska, the thirty-sixth State to ratify, had passed its ratifying resolution on January 16, 1919, and the Supreme Court held that from that day the amendment was consummated and must become effective one year thereafter. The time at which the Secretary of State promulgated the ratification was irrelevant.³⁹

Like the president, a governor has no legal part in the amending process, and his approval of the legislature's ratification is unnecessary. When the income tax amendment was pending, the Governor of New York recommended to the legislature that the proposition be rejected, "but nothing in the circumstances indicated any view upon his part that he had any negative power"⁴⁰ over whatever action might be taken. The Governor of Arkansas vetoed the legislature's approval of the same amendment, but the ratification was nevertheless transmitted to the Secretary of State and Arkansas was counted as one of the ratifying States.

Ordinarily, the governor forwards certified copies of the ratification resolution to the president, the Secretary of State, the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House. When three-fourths of the whole number of States have sent in their ratifications, the Secretary of State, who has no

discretion to inquire into the truth of the statements of fact in notices received from the ratifying States, is required by law to "cause the amendment to be published, with his certificate, specifying the States by which the same may have been adopted, and that the same has become valid, to all intents and purposes, as a part of the Constitution of the United States."⁴¹

May a State legislature, having passed upon an amendment, subsequently decide to reconsider its action, and perhaps reverse its position? The Connecticut legislature rejected the Thirteenth Amendment on December 1, 1865, and notice thereof was given to the Secretary of State at Washington. On January 23, 1866, the legislature reversed its action and approved the amendment. The same situation arose again in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and a few other States in relation to the Fourteenth Amendment, submitted by Congress to the States on June 16, 1866. In all cases, the practice has been to hold there is no legal barrier to prevent a State legislature, after rejecting an amendment, from subsequently reversing its action, provided such reversal takes place within a reasonable time after the submission by Congress. On the other hand, if a State legislature once ratifies an amendment, it may not thereafter revoke such action. New Jersey, Oregon, and Ohio had first adopted and later rejected the Fourteenth Amendment, but Congress passed a resolution declaring their ratifications valid and irrevocable. Neither may a State append to a ratification any conditions to be met before its approval is effective, because such conditions have been regarded as having no legal significance.⁴²

AMENDMENTS AS SAFETY VALVES

Whatever may be our opinion of the merits or defects of Article V, it is a matter of some interest to note that while the Constitution of the United States has been followed in some degree as a model, perhaps more in spirit than in structure, by the framers of recent European constitutions, none of them have appropriated either the spirit or structure of Article V. In 1875, becoming weary of changing governments by Revolution, France decided it would be advantageous to provide a more peaceable method. The constitution of 1875 contains a very simple procedure: amendment may be accomplished at any time by the joint action of the two legislative chambers of the French Parliament.⁴³ The Swiss constitution, as revised in 1874, may be amended only by a majority vote of the people.⁴⁴ Two methods of amendment are provided in the German constitution of 1918; revision may be made either by a two-thirds vote of both houses of the German Parliament or by a popular referendum.⁴⁵

In Austria since 1918, amendments may be made by a two-thirds vote of the House of Representatives, provided one-half of the total membership is present.⁴⁶ The constitutions of Hungary⁴⁷ and Italy⁴⁸ may be amended by the ordinary process of law-making. The Polish constitution contains a provision which declares that there shall be a general revision of the constitution every twenty-five years by the two legislative chambers meeting in joint assembly, and taking action by a majority vote.⁴⁹

As the guardian of the Constitution,⁵⁰ Article V has performed its function well. Comparatively few formal amendments have broken through its intricate defense. In view of the unpopularity of the Eighteenth Amendment, many writers have raised the question whether we should adopt an easier method for amending the basic law. Perhaps the Eighteenth Amendment has become famous, not so much because we have it, as because we have been unable to get rid of it. Amending provisions in constitutions have been described as "safety-valves," which "must not be so adjusted as to discharge their peculiar function with too great facility, lest they become the ordinary escape-pipes of party passion." On the other hand, neither "must they discharge it with such difficulty that the force needed to induce action is sufficient also to explode the machine."⁵¹

While the "political arithmetic" of the amending process is worthy of criticism, one great defect of Article V seems to be the lack of provision for "that special and searching consideration" which a change in the Constitution deserves.⁵² Amendments are ratified by State legislators elected for other purposes. As legislators they are only incidentally concerned in the whole process. Often they are elected *before* an amendment is submitted to the States, at a time when the issue is not before the people. Ratification by State legislatures was bitterly criticized by Justice Clark in the Sprague case,⁵³ especially when the proposed amendment is one which will affect the personal liberty of the citizen. The Eighteenth Amendment might have failed of ratification had it been submitted to State constitutional conventions chosen by the people for that one specific purpose. The unpopularity and wholesale violation of that amendment may be an indication that the twentieth-century American citizen will henceforth refuse to recognize as binding a law in the making of which he has had no part.⁵³

⁴⁶ Since January 1, 1929, approximately 800 popular articles have appeared in periodicals, criticizing National prohibition. *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* (January, 1929, November, 1932). This does not, of course, include books, newspapers, and legal periodicals.

⁴⁷ *Chicago Tribune*, July 1, 1932.

⁴⁸ J. A. Jameson, *The Constitutional Convention*. Chicago: 1873, p. 481.

⁴⁹ Roger S. Hoar, *Constitutional Conventions*. Boston: 1917, p. 8.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 8, *et seq.*; see also *U. S. v. Sprague*, 44 Fed. (2d) 967, 972 (1930).

⁵¹ G. Hunt and J. B. Scott, *Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787*. New York: 1920, pp. 304, 541, 573; see also *U. S. v. Sprague*, *supra*, n. 5, pp. 973, 978.

⁵² James M. Beck, *The Constitution of the United States*. New York: 1924, p. 23.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ W. F. Dodd, "Amending the Federal Constitution," in *Yale Law Jour.*, XXX, 352, *et seq.* (February, 1921). Also M. A. Musmanno, *Proposed Amendments to the Constitution*. Washington: 1929, p. 189, *et seq.*

⁵⁵ Cf. C. K. Burdick, *The Law of the American Constitution*. New York: 1926, p. 36.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Musmanno, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1; see also Sen. Doc. 154, 68 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 31, *et seq.* Deposited in State Dept., Mar. 3, 1932, Sess. Laws, 72 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 745.

⁶² "Proposed Amendments to the Constitution of the United States during the First Century of its History," *Ann. Rep. of Amer. Hist. Assoc.*, 1896, II.

⁶³ Musmanno, *op. cit.*, p. v.

⁶⁴ *Congressional Government*. Boston: 1885, p. 242.

⁶⁵ Musmanno, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

⁶⁶ Ames, *loc. cit.*, p. 189.

⁶⁷ Musmanno, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁷³ Ames, *loc. cit.*, p. 101.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁷⁵ Musmanno, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 237, 138, 104, 106, 45.

⁷⁸ Since 1789 Congress has submitted only twenty-five amendments to the States for ratification. Nineteen have been adopted; one (the "lame-duck" amendment), is now before the States (1932); five have been rejected by the States. Ames, *loc. cit.*, App. 243, 295, 399, 931; Musmanno, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

⁷⁹ Art. 1, sec. 5, cl. 1.

⁸⁰ *National Prohibition Cases*, 253 U. S. 350, 386 (1920).

⁸¹ *Hollingsworth v. Virginia*, 3 Dallas 378, 381 (1798).

⁸² Ames, *loc. cit.*, p. 296.

⁸³ 257 Fed., 334 (1919).

⁸⁴ *Dillon v. Gloss*, 256 U. S. 368 (1921).

⁸⁵ Dodd, *loc. cit.*, pp. 345-46.

⁸⁶ Sec. 205, U. S. Rev. Stat. (1873). See also *U. S. v. Colby*, 265 Fed. 998 (1920).

⁸⁷ For excellent detailed discussions of the amending procedure, see W. F. Dodd, *loc. cit.*; L. B. Orfield, "The Procedure of the Federal Amending Power," in *Ill. Law Rev.*, XXV, 418-445 (December, 1930); and J. Tanger, "Amending Procedure of the Federal Constitution," in *Amer. Polit. Sci. Rev.*, X, 689-699 (November, 1916).

⁸⁸ W. B. Munro, *The Governments of Europe*. New York: 1927, p. 390.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 699.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 618.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 756.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 666.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 757.

⁹⁵ Jameson, *op. cit.*, p. 484.

⁹⁶ C. A. Beard, *American Government and Politics*. New York: 1927, p. 85.

⁹⁷ *U. S. v. Sprague*, *supra*, n. 5, pp. 982, 983.

⁹⁸ Cf. Justice Clark's discussion of the "amending power," *Ibid.*, p. 976; The decision of the Court in this case was reversed in *U. S. v. Sprague*, 282 U. S. 716 (1931).

Dutch and American Colonial Policy in the Malay Archipelago

By AMRY VANDERBOSCH
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When the United States in 1899 came to the Malay Archipelago to govern that part of it called the Philippine Islands, the Netherlands had for three centuries been over-lord over most of the remaining and vastly larger part of the archipelago. Thus by contrast with the Dutch the Americans were utterly inexperienced in colonial government. The Netherlands, though much the smaller country, had relatively much the greater task. She was responsible for governing an Eastern, tropical empire whose area was fifty-eight times and whose population was about eight times her own. The same ratios for the United States were about one-twenty-sixth and one-tenth.¹ The cultural conditions in the two dependencies were not entirely comparable. The Philippines had been quite deeply penetrated by Spanish culture, due to three centuries of Spanish rule, and with the exception of Mindanao and the Sulu Islands, the population had nearly all been Christianized. At the turn of the century Dutch influence and authority outside of Amboina, the Minahassa, Java and certain sections of Sumatra was slight. The culture system and the "favorable balance" policy which prevailed from 1825 to 1875 led to a concentration on Java and the neglect of the outer islands. It was not until 1885 that the policy of effectively establishing Dutch authority in the outer islands was vigorously pushed, and by 1900 this task had not yet been thoroughly completed. Thus vast areas of the East Indies have been open to the penetration of western influences for a relatively short period.

The primary characteristic of Dutch colonial policy is the recognition of indigenous societies and institutions and their development along intrinsic lines. Thanks to this policy Indonesians have not been denationalized nor deracinated, but have been allowed to retain their own language, legal system, and social and cultural institutions. This policy is a difficult one to follow. It requires an accurate and profound knowledge of native society which only years of patient, scientific study can give. The Dutch universities and numerous private institutions such as the Colonial Institute at Amsterdam have promoted such scientific study. Dutch colonial officials and missionaries are imbued with this spirit. The list of outstanding scholars of Indonesian society and institutions contains a large number of

notable names, such as Wilken, Liefcrinck, Snouck Hurgronje, Kruijt, Adriani, van Vollenhoven, and de Kat Angelino. Dutch colonial literature as a result is matchless for both its quantity and quality.

The United States in the Philippines has followed a policy just the reverse of this. That it should have adopted a policy of assimilation is not surprising. The policy of non-assimilation and the development along indigenous lines requires a knowledge of native Philippine society which Americans did not have, could not easily acquire, and for which they had no feeling. Our expansion over a vast continent in large part explains this attitude. Moreover, Americans have never had a consistent and scientific policy with respect to the two "backward" peoples within their own borders, the Indians and the Negroes. It was not until very recent years that any scientific study had been made of them. There never was any thought of developing them along their own lines. The United States is essentially a "kulturstaat." No nation has anything like the purity of race that it thinks it has, but the American nation assuredly has little. Nordics, Alpines, Mediterraneans, Indians, Africans, and even Asiatics have entered into the common racial stock. This absence of a common racial basis has undoubtedly been one reason for emphasizing cultural assimilation. This in time developed a cultural superiority complex, and it is not surprising that the policy of assimilation to the culture and institutions of the United States was carried overseas to an alien, tropical, Oriental people. The policy in the minds of all was to Americanize the Filipinos as quickly as possible and then withdraw. Why the United States should withdraw at all after it had Americanized the islands seemed to occur to no one.

ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE

Any policy for the preparation of a dependency for nation-hood should include measures leading to economic independence, for political independence is very closely associated with economic independence. Certainly, no scheme for bringing a distant dependency into closer economic relations with the metropolitan country by artificial means can be said to be in harmony with a professed intention of preparing that dependency for political independence as soon as possible. The Dutch have never been

guilty of loud professions of being in the East Indies to prepare them for independence as soon as possible; nevertheless preferential duties were abolished in 1874 and the open door has been rigidly maintained since then. The Netherlands has maintained the open door even though it has seen its share of East Indian exports fall from 28.1 per cent in 1913 to 14.77 per cent in 1929, and its share in East Indian imports fall from 33.2 per cent in 1913 to 18.31 per cent in 1929. The Dutch have not sought to divert the natural flow of East Indian foreign trade from Asiatic channels to the Netherlands by means of artificial trade barriers.

The United States, on the other hand, while loudly proclaiming that its "policy with reference to the Philippine Islands represented a new conception of colonization," which was "to develop the colony into an entity which, economically, culturally and politically, would be self-sufficient," nevertheless as soon as it was legally free to do so introduced measures to reduce the Philippines to economic dependence upon the United States. By means of American-Philippine free trade and a high tariff wall around both countries to deepen the trade channel between them, the United States share of the Philippine trade increased from 25 per cent in 1902 to 72 per cent in 1930, thus steadily increasing the dependence of the Philippine economic system upon the American market. In the face of this, Secretary Hurley's statement on the Philippines makes strange, contradictory reading. The United States has deliberately followed a tariff policy which made the Philippines constantly more dependent on the American market, and yet at the end the Philippines are told that their economic dependence is the chief obstacle to their political independence. The American Philippine tariff policy was contradictory from still another point of view. In the years following the acquisition of the Philippines the United States was pressing for an open door in China, only to institute an almost completely closed door in the immediate neighborhood. The American people are so steeped in mercantilism that they cannot conceive of colonies apart from tariff preferences or assimilation. To them the colonial relationship and tariff preferences are indissolubly linked; they stand or fall together.

One of the most difficult problems in any dependency is the economic development of the country without sacrificing the interests of the indigenous population. The people in the metropolitan country clamor for a vigorous welfare policy in the dependency, little realizing that the institutions of civilization such as hygiene, sanitation and education cost money and that the indigenous economy can not support them. A western welfare policy can be maintained only by a western economy.

Western industry must, therefore, be induced to enter the country. But how can this be done without surrendering the native to western exploitation? This is one of the most difficult as well as one of the most fundamental problems of colonial administration.

The economic development of the Dutch East Indies is a marvelous achievement, one that can be duplicated nowhere in the colonial world. The Dutch have brought to bear on their problems in the East Indies all the scientific knowledge at their command. Laboratories and experimental farms have done amazing work in extracting all sorts of commercial products from tropical plants, in developing the most productive varieties of plants and in lowering production costs. The East Indies have become a very important factor in world economy. Before the depression the Dutch East Indian share of the world's production stood high with respect to a number of products. The East Indies produced 90 per cent of the world's quinine, 84 per cent of its kapoc, 80 per cent of its pepper, 60 per cent of its sisal, 36 per cent of its rubber, 22 per cent of its tin, 12 per cent of its tea, 9 per cent of its sugar, 7 per cent of its coffee and 2 per cent of its oil. The Dutch have done this without despoiling the native of his heritage. The policy of non-alienation of land except to natives has been rigidly adhered to. Not even half-castes can own agricultural land. Western industry has acquired the land necessary for its operation largely in the form of long-term concessions of public lands which the natives do not yet need, and the renting of land from the native owners under strict conditions and subject to the minute supervision of the government. Moreover, the government operates large estates itself. Most of the tin in the East Indies comes from a government owned and operated mine. The Dutch have not been doctrinaire anti-state socialists. On the contrary the government industries are so extensive that before the collapse of the prices of tropical raw products over 20 per cent of the government's income came from this source. There is probably no better way than government exploitation for achieving the dual purpose of developing the resources of a backward country and at the same time saving the profits for the indigenous population.

The Philippines have not enjoyed a great economic development, certainly not as great as one would expect in an American-controlled territory, and with free access to the vast American market. The land laws are generally cited as the chief obstacle to their rapid economic development. The maximum grant to an individual is fixed at 100 acres and to a corporation at 2500 acres. This provision does not give the protection to the native

that the East Indian non-alienation law does, and yet it effectively prohibits large-scale exploitation. Other obstacles often referred to are the strict Corporation Law, the Public Utility Law and the restriction of immigration. Whatever the causes may be, the United States has not been very successful in the economic development of the Philippines.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

When it comes to political development the story runs differently. The Dutch have really bungled this important work. Decades ago the East Indian government should have begun the development of representative institutions in the local and intermediate units of government, but instead it delayed the institution of those organs so long, that it was forced, in the feverish days of the war, to set up hastily a representative body at the top and center. The East Indian government was, and still is, highly over-centralized. Sixty-two million people spread out over so vast an area and with widely divergent conditions, cannot be minutely governed from a single, distant point. Until 1925 there was no intermediate government. Since then Java has been divided into three provinces, each with a population of about 14,000,000. The governmental reorganization is shortly to be undertaken in the Outer Territories. The progress of decentralization has been very slow. The Dutch and East Indian governments seemed unable to decide on a reorganization plan. A real liberal colonial policy, called the "ethical" policy in Dutch politics, dates only from about 1900, and tradition and an entrenched bureaucracy have made progress in decentralization and democratization slow.

However, democratization at the center has developed at a surprising rate. The central legislative body, the Volksraad, was opened in 1918 as an advisory body, and in 1925 it was made a co-legislative body. Only 25 of the 60 members are Dutch and there are no official members. All internal affairs are left to the East Indian government for regulation, and the Netherlands parliament may pass no laws for the East Indies without first having obtained the advice of the Volksraad.

In one respect the Indonesians have received far greater training for self-government than the Filipinos. The latter have been absolutely excluded from participation in international relations. The absence of the United States from the League of Nations and the International Labor Office has tended to strengthen this exclusion. Since 1929 the Dutch government has included Indonesians in its delegations to the League of Nations Assembly and the International Labor Conference. Moreover, the Netherlands parliament first obtains the advice of the Volksraad before ratifying any treaty affect-

ing the East Indies. There is now a considerable opinion in the East Indies and in the Netherlands for separate East Indian membership in the League.

Until the recent crisis the Dutch and American policies with respect to the importation of personnel have been quite different. Nearly all of the higher and better paid positions in the East Indian services are filled by Netherlands. In 1930 there were only about 200 Indonesians out of 8300 persons in the highest paid group of East Indian government employees. Beginning with the Harrison administration Philippinization of the service was rapidly pushed. In 1905 there were 3307 Americans in the Philippine service, 2623 in 1913, 582 in 1920 and 494 in 1929. The United States never instituted a systematic or liberal personnel policy. It sent people out to the Philippines on short term contracts, with no furlough or retirement provisions. This has also meant that the people sent out had no special training for their positions, and that they left the Philippines as soon as they really became useful. It has also led to the extensive use of military personnel in important governmental positions.

The policy of the East Indian government of importing trained Europeans for all the leading posts has given the highest standard of administrative efficiency probably found anywhere in the world, but its cost has been enormous and has precipitated a crisis. European salaries, European leaves every six years, and fairly liberal pensions after early retirements constitute an enormous burden on the public treasury in a backward area. Its justification in the past has been that European enterprises in the East Indies have demanded this high standard of efficiency as a condition to entering and remaining there. Furthermore, western enterprises pay the lion's share of the taxes (some have estimated as high as 50 per cent). But now that a deep depression has settled over these industries their tax productivity has sharply fallen. Native society with its low income cannot long support a public personnel cost which is high even by western standards. Over half of the governmental expenditures goes to personnel cost. Thus Indonesianization has become imperative and is now being vigorously pushed. It will be hailed with joy by the nationalists, but if carried out too rapidly may cause a demoralization of the services. A lowering of standards of efficiency in such matters as hygiene and scientific research in the development of East Indian industries may also have a depressing effect on economic activity.

The United States has followed a more liberal policy than the Netherlands with respect to education. The East Indian government has put forth

great efforts in the last two decades, but even so, less than half of the children of school age, on the present modest system of three year village schools and four or five years schools in the more advanced centers of population, are in school today. In 1929 slightly over 9 per cent of the government revenue went for educational purposes. To provide for a six year standard education for the total school population would cost \$160,000,000 a year or about 80 per cent of the total governmental expenditures at the peak budget of 1930. The East Indies now compare unfavorably with the Philippines in the percentage of the total governmental expenditures which go for education. However, in 1918 less than 12 per cent of the Philippine budget went for education, but this has since been raised to about 24 per cent. The Philippine government can afford to set aside a larger percentage of its budget for education because it has much lower personnel costs and because the United States carries the enormous cost of the defence of the Philippines, while the East Indian government shares this cost on equal terms with the Netherlands government. The new Governor General will find the problem of extending education in spite of the depression one of his major problems, for an insistent demand for this extension comes from the people in the Netherlands as well as from Indonesians among whom hunger for education has become widespread.

PROBLEMS OF THE FUTURE

By and large there is much to be said for a small country as a colonial power. It is too weak serenely to ignore the interests of the world by instituting a closed door as the United States has done in the Philippines and in Porto Rico. There is in the Netherlands a far more enlightened public opinion on East Indian problems and the number of East Indian experts in the States General is large. The Philippines mean little to the average American; he knows little about them and cares less. The United States held them, and would continue to hold them, so long as it is thought to be to our interest to do so, but now that several groups in the United States feel that the retention of the Philippines is injurious to their interest, a bill to free them is passed with almost no debate. The interest of the Philippines receives little consideration. The Netherlands is a small country, weak militarily, and there is no possibility of her staying in the East Indies very much longer than the Dutch are wanted there. But so long as they are needed in the East Indies, the latter may rely upon an enlightened consideration of her problems before the Dutch parliament and in Dutch public opinion.

The developments in India and the Philippines

are not going to make the position of the Dutch in the East Indies easier in the coming years. Events there will add fuel to a rapidly growing nationalist movement. Dutch public opinion hopes to retain the East Indies in an imperial union, and the Dutch government is shaping its course accordingly. The Dutch feel strongly that their position in world politics depends largely on their retaining the East Indies, and that without them their prestige and rôle will greatly diminish. The Philippines, of course, have no such significance for the United States. United States withdrawal from the Philippines will also cause the Dutch increased anxiety over the defense of the East Indies. The Singapore Naval Base and the presence of the United States in the Philippines gave the Netherlands a sense of security which a reliance upon its own weapons could not give. Every flare-up in the East is going to cause the Dutch alarm. The present events in Manchuria and Shanghai have led them to strengthen the naval force for the protection of the Borneo oil fields.

¹ The latest area and population statistics of these countries are as follows: area in square miles—Netherlands, 12,582; East Indies, 733,000; Continental United States, 2,973,890, Philippines, 114,400; population—Netherlands, 7,800,000, East Indies, 62,000,000, the United States, 122,775,000, Philippines, 13,000,000.

Members of the National Council for the Social Studies: Attention!

The next regular meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies (the Department of Social Studies of the N.E.A.) will be held at Minneapolis, Saturday, February 25, in connection with the meeting of the Department of Superintendence. The program will consist of a luncheon at which will be a discussion of the Third Year Book, followed by a general program.

The Use of Radio in Teaching the Social Sciences

By JOHN L. HOLMAN

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Life in the modern world, with its rapid transportation and communication, its labor-saving devices, its opportunities for mental and physical self-improvement is far removed from life in any previous period. The world sends its news, its information and, in a small way, its education by radio. As a broadening influence, literally bringing the world into the schoolroom, the value of education by air cannot be overestimated in any program of teaching social science.

The lessons of history which are not always persuasive in these days can be made more vivid when presented by radio with dramatic force. Radio history lessons synchronized with school work can assume more meaning than names and dates on the printed page. In a country as large as the United States, detailed broadcasts attuned to and timed with local conditions and curricula can be supplemented by national network lessons of more general interest.

Special international broadcasts involving exchange of all types of programs will be interesting to the social science student. Radio is a supplement to the daily newspaper. Hearing the messages of great world figures over the air today is a much more direct and impressive contact with history than reading the biographies of statesmen twenty years from now. During the season programs from England, Italy, France, Germany, South America, Hawaii, Australia, and Japan were available to the listening audience. Political leaders of every important country have spoken. It is true that radio takes the listener around the world in a few minutes. Transatlantic flyers, explorers in distant lands, scientists engaged in great experiments can communicate their adventures to the schoolroom before they are recorded in history textbooks.

Contrary to current opinion, radio material need not be "over the heads" of the pupils. Indeed, radio lessons are now graded. Leaflets or outlines are usually issued in advance so that teachers can give preparatory talks. Collateral readings and study materials are suggested. Maps, notes, sketches can be placed about the schoolroom to facilitate understanding of the broadcast. A more serious argument against the use of air education is the claim that it places too much reliance on the lecture method, to the exclusion of "learner activity." As a

matter of fact, much self-activity can be directed effectively by the expert radio teacher. The radio broadcast, like the visit to the museum or the excursion to the battleground, must be preceded by and followed with classroom work to make it truly instructive. It has also been argued that air education ignores backward pupils. On the other hand, a good radio lesson gives the teacher more time to aid slow pupils in the classroom; and it must be remembered that radio lessons are based on a system of minimum essentials, with certain information available to all and extra projects open to the more brilliant pupils.

More important actually than the preceding objections is the financial bogey. New buildings, athletic fields, playgrounds have all fought their battle against grudging officials and hard-pressed taxpayers. Radio equipment is not necessarily expensive. Some schools have borrowed receivers (however undesirable that plan may be!); others have secured them through coöperation of Parent-Teacher Associations, Chambers of Commerce, Rotary Clubs, and other organizations. Enterprising classes have bought radios on the installment plan and paid for them by giving entertainments. In some cases, science classes have built satisfactory school sets. There are even one or two notable instances where coöperation between manufacturers and dealers has resulted in contribution of sets.

Broadcasting chains are willing to provide time when educators can agree on desirable material. Mr. Frederic A. Willis, Educational Director of the Columbia Broadcasting System, says: "It has almost always been our policy to give time for educational broadcasts rather than require payment for the use of our facilities. In fact, we never charge for educational broadcasts presented by strictly educational institutions." It is sometimes true, of course, that advertisers pay for time which is devoted to educational material. The Director of Development of the National Broadcasting Company says: "Our educational broadcasts are included in our sustaining programs, which are entirely free. The only thing necessary is that the school or college equip itself with adequate apparatus for its reception." The generous attitude of the broadcasting companies illustrates their desire to be of service in the field of public education.

In building up a system of education on the air, there is not a great deal of precedent in Europe for comparison. In England, under the auspices of the British Broadcasting Company, more than a thousand schools in London and vicinity have wireless instruction as a feature of their curriculum. History is taught partly in this way. The attitude of the company is noteworthy: though it has a monopoly of the air, it feels that the sphere of broadcasting includes definite responsibility towards education as part of a "wider conception of good citizenship."¹ The broadcasts are designed to interest children between the ages of eleven and fourteen. History, mythology, special talks on international affairs, and geography alternating its travel talks with art lectures, make up the programs.

In Vienna, an interesting experiment has been conducted in the school use of radio. An illustrated magazine is published with excellent preparatory material for the educational broadcasts which reach about 366,000 listeners. Each listener is taxed thirty cents a month. Educational exhibits are arranged. *Radio-bild* is a plan for adding visual illustrations to school radio programs. Strips of pictures illustrating the lessons are printed on sheets of paper which are perforated so they can be separated and run through a machine (in the manner of motion picture film). Intense light and lenses magnify the picture to one square meter on the screen.

In Germany, ten broadcasting companies cooperate with the school authorities and unite under one head for all educational broadcasting. The *Deutschewelle* through the *Königswusterhausen* station broadcasts only lectures and educational matter until eight in the evening. A Canadian investigator who studied the working of the European systems concluded that though the German plan was superior to that of England, the Ohio School of the Air was as good as any effort in the world.

The most important early attempt at air education in the United States was successfully made by the Ohio State Department of Education, which organized in the fall of 1928 the Ohio School of the Air. Its sponsoring was cooperative, including the efforts of Ohio educators, the Payne Fund, Station WLW, Ohio State University, and many public-spirited citizens. The first public school program was broadcast January 7, 1929. The extent of its influence may be realized when it is known that by April, reports showed more than 100,000 regular listeners in twenty-two states. The Ohio State Legislature appropriated \$40,000 to continue the school for a period of two years.

From a study of the technique of radio lessons

evolved at Ohio, several conclusions were reached. It was generally agreed that the teacher must put all his appeal and personality into his voice. Radio talks must be written and read, or carefully memorized. "Vain repetitions and halts to search the mind for the correct word are too expensive at \$14 a second."² Then, too, radio listeners are impatient and likely to "tune out" at the first pause.

Financial statistics of the Ohio experiment are interesting. For \$20,000, the state was able to give air instruction by leading teachers and lecturers. With 300,000 listeners (the number limited because of lack of radio equipment in some schools) the expense per pupils was less than seven cents for the entire school year.

Many radio stations throughout the United States have devoted time since 1928 to educational broadcasts; the following list shows typical material of interest to the social science student:

- KFWI, San Francisco, in 1928-29 was devoting 15 per cent of its broadcast time to educational work, including historical anecdotes and travelogs.
- KGER, Long Beach. City schools directly connected with the station for several fifteen-minute periods each week. Talks on citizenship, and discussions by the Juvenile Officer of the Police Department.
- KPO, San Francisco. Gave the standard school broadcast with the National Broadcasting Company. Supplementary special broadcasts, including such topics as "The Early History of New York," "From Horse-Car to Steam Railroad," "Little Known Facts in the Life of George Washington," "Little Known Facts in the Life of Abraham Lincoln," "The Story of Petroleum," "Mt. Everest, the Unconquered," "The Mayan Indians," "Amundsen and the South Pole."
- WMAQ, Chicago. Elementary Schools, 9:05-9:30 A.M. Geography, Tuesdays; Social Studies, Fridays. Geography talks synchronized with use of slides in schools.
- WHAS, Louisville. 12:45-1:00 P.M. three days a week. "The History of Kentucky," among other subjects.
- WCCO, Minneapolis. Programs five days a week sponsored by Hamline University. History one period.
- WODA, Paterson, N.J. Free grammar and high school of the air, owned by the Commissioner of Education. Graduated 387 pupils in June, 1929. Courses in history and social science.
- WOR, Newark, N.J. Cooperates with New York University, Rutgers, State University of New Jersey, New Jersey College for Women. The official station of the Radio Debating League, a neutral organization founded to arouse interest in important problems by broadcasting debates. Social sciences: weekly talks on World Events, series on New Jersey history, Current Biography, Travel.
- WGBS, New York. "Law for the Layman," by judges, lawyers, and educators from St. John's College. Municipal Government talks by the Better City Government League.
- WLW, Cincinnati. Ohio School of the Air. Fifteen-minute talks by city department heads giving the organization and functioning of the city manager plan of municipal government.
- WEAO, Ohio State University, Columbus. Cooperates with Ohio School of the Air. Includes political science in its educational programs.
- WRVA, Richmond, Va. Historical sketches of Virginia and the South by the editor of the *Richmond News Leader*. Forty schools in Richmond and vicinity equipped with radio receivers.
- WHAD, Milwaukee. Marquette University Station, broadcasts by faculty members. "Interpreting the News,"

"Highlights of Wisconsin History," "Highlights of History of the West," "The Roman Question," "Cities of the Far East," "The Family as a Social Institution," "Why We Are Proud of Wisconsin."

The program of the Columbia Broadcasting System has been even more pretentious. In planning its educational features for the year 1930-31, it aimed to reach school, college, and adult population. For the schools, the American School of the Air was to broadcast thirty minutes five days a week, for twenty-six weeks (October 20 to May 8, with two weeks out during Christmas holidays). Mondays were to be devoted to historical dramatizations, primarily for the benefit of junior high classes, though of supplementary interest also to grades 6, 10, 11, and 12. Correlation could also be established between the social sciences and the literature programs on Tuesday and Wednesday, and the music periods on Thursday. Friday there was to be a split period devoted to current events and vocational guidance for junior and senior high students. The news talks were to interpret outstanding events with an analysis of cause and effect. A "Teachers' Manual or Classroom Guide" was published and made available free of charge to teachers. Programs representing 3260 station-hours were devoted to education by radio in the schools. Forty-four stations of the Columbia Broadcasting System joined in the hook-up. News releases giving synopses of programs were issued to more than two thousand papers well ahead of the broadcast dates. In connection with this educational work, the Columbia System maintains an educational bureau with a research staff which contacts with state and city superintendents, state teachers' associations, educators, and the radio editors of the press.

Broadcasts to college students are issued in co-operation with the National Student Federation "to foster understanding among the students of the world" and thus encourage peace. These broadcasts are mentioned because they are of social science interest to secondary pupils. During the last year, the speakers included Tagore, Dr. Carl Becker, Dr. Ray Wilbur, Dr. Julius Klein, and James MacDonald whose talk on "Russia Under the Five-Year Plan" was especially interesting. The Federation programs were given from 4:30 to 5:00 E.S.T. at least twice a month.

In its brochure, the American School of the Air gives the following advice to teachers: create an attitude of respectful attention on the part of your students. Be sure that the radio receiver is suited to the size of the room, so that every word can be heard clearly, without distortion. As preparatory work, explain briefly the matter to be broadcast. Refer to the suggested bibliography. Use visual aids—slides, maps, large colored pictures, and ac-

tual objects under discussion whenever possible.

The Advisory Faculty on History and Civics for the year 1930-31 included the following persons: Henry Fisk Carlton, radio dramatist; Dr. Julius Klein, assistant secretary of commerce; Rufus Smith, dean of extension division, New York University; Carl Russell Fish, professor of American history, University of Wisconsin; Harold Rugg, Lincoln School, Columbia University.

A chronological list of broadcasts for the year 1930-31 showing only those items of interest to social science students includes the following topics:

October	20, The Mayflower Compact.
"	22, Literature, <i>The Golden Fleece</i> .
"	24, Current Events.
"	27, The Boston Tea Party.
"	28, Folk Songs and Dances.
"	30, Ancient and Medieval Music.
"	31, Current Events.
November	3, The Declaration of Independence.
"	7, Current Events.
"	10, The Story of the Flag.
"	11, Indian Legends.
"	12, Literature, <i>The Courtship of Miles Standish</i> .
"	14, Current Events.
"	17, Capt. John Paul Jones.
"	21, Current Events.
"	24, Molly Pitcher.
"	26, Literature, <i>The Man Without a Country</i> .
December	1, Benjamin Franklin.
"	5, Current Events.
"	6, The Story of the Constitution.
"	12, Current Events.
"	15, Alexander Hamilton.
"	19, Current Events.
January	5, The Cotton Gin.
"	7, Literature, <i>Ivanhoe</i> .
"	8, French Folk and Art Songs.
"	9, Current Events.
"	12, The Louisiana Purchase.
"	13, Foreign Children.
"	14, Literature, <i>Robin Hood</i> .
"	16, Current Events.
"	17, Dolly Madison.
"	23, Current Events.
"	26, Andrew Jackson.
"	29, Russian Folk and Church Music.
"	30, Current Events.
February	2, Morse and the Telegraph.
"	6, Current Events.
"	9, Commander Perry Opens the Door to Japan.
"	10, George Washington.
"	11, Literature, <i>Prometheus</i> .
"	13, Current Events.
"	16, Buffalo Bill.
"	17, Early American Music.
"	18, Literature, <i>Quentin Durward</i> .
"	19, Scandinavian Folk Music.
"	20, Current Events.
"	23, The Railroad.
"	25, Literature, <i>Sir Gawain and the Green Knight</i> .
"	27, Current Events.
March	2, Clara Barton.
"	4, Literature, <i>Ben Hur</i> .
"	6, Current Events.
"	9, Custer's Last Stand.
"	12, American Folk Music.
"	13, Current Events.
"	16, Edison and the Electric Light.
"	18, Literature, <i>House of Seven Gables</i> .
"	19, American Composers.
"	20, Current Events.
"	23, The Capture of Aguinaldo.

March	27, Current Events.
"	30, Theodore Roosevelt.
April	1, Literature, <i>The Last of the Mohicans</i> .
"	2, Folk Songs of the British Isles.
"	13, Panama Canal. (Gen. Gorgas)
"	16, Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia (Music).
"	17, Current Events.
"	20, The Story of Education.
"	22, Literature, <i>The Tale of Two Cities</i> .
"	24, Current Events.
"	27, Story of the Newspaper.
"	29, Literature, <i>William Tell</i> . (Historic Swiss Legends)
"	30, Italian Folk and Art Songs.
May	1, Current Events.
"	4, The Armistice.
"	6, Literature, <i>Julius Caesar</i> .
"	8, Current Events.

As an illustration of the way in which each historical topic is treated in the "Teachers' Guide" of the American School of the Air, "The Mayflower Compact" is a good example. It is suggested that this lesson be a feature of the unit on colonization ("Our Pilgrim Fathers" or "Early Days in Plymouth"). Research reading of old records and the literature of the period is mentioned. Study of the geographical conditions of eastern Massachusetts, the Indian tribes, and the social and religious life of the Pilgrims is desirable. The class can look up the sailing vessels of the "sixteen hundreds."

THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT

October 20, 1930

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- Documentary Source Book of American History, 1606-1926*, by William MacDonald (Macmillan). Text of the compact and reading references, p. 19.
- Growth of the United States*, by R. V. Harlow (Holt). Brief account, p. 43.
- Land of the Pilgrims*, by J. E. Thomson (D. C. Heath). Description of circumstances leading to the writing of the document. Copy of the document with list of signatures.
- The Pageant of America*, Vol. I, Chronicles of America Series (Yale University Press). Brief account, illustrated from a painting by Edwin White.
- Stories of the Old Bay State*, by Elbridge S. Brooks (American Book Co.), 24-26.

ART:

- Signing of the Mayflower Compact*, by J. L. G. Ferris (Foundation Press).
- Departure of the Mayflower*. Perry Pictures No. 1334.

MUSIC: (Songs that may be sung by students in correlation with broadcast)

- The Landing of the Pilgrims*. No. 84, *Twice 55*, Book II, and p. 156, *Progressive Music Series*, Book IV.
- Old Hundred*, p. 106, *Assembly Songs for Every Occasion*. (Hinds, Hayden, and Eldridge.)
- Pilgrim Hymn*, p. 124, *Assembly Songs for Any Occasion*.

(Selections to be played during the broadcast)

Psalms from "Music of the Pilgrims," Pratt (Oliver Ditson).
Psalms 84, 100, 107.

SUGGESTED PROJECTS:

- Have the children read Felicia Heman's "The Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers" and memorize their favorite stanzas.
- Let them write a short poem or paragraph, describing in

their own words the scene pictured in the first five or six stanzas of the poem.

In the art class have a drawing or painting of the same scene made.

Encourage the pupils to keep in a scrapbook a running account of the historical broadcasts in this series, including in its maps, pictures, original compositions.

Let the class write and produce a play called "The First Thanksgiving."

Have among the characters Elder Brewster, Governor Bradford, several men, women and children, and a group of Indians. Introduce an Indian dance.

If possible, get a copy of the old *New England Primer*, read it and compare it with a beginner's reading book of today.

Have older pupils read Longfellow's "The Courtship of Miles Standish."

A series of twenty-five broadcasts on "Folk and Art Music of the World," some of which were mentioned in the chronological list already given, had distinct correlation with history and geography and were intended for the upper grades, high schools, and adults who might be interested. The broadcast on March 12 on "American Folk Music" is typical of this group:

Frontier Folk Dances: Happy is the Miller!
Pop Goes the Weasel!
Captain Jinks.
Money Musk.—Old Time Fiddler.

Wakonda, Indian Prayer Song.

Cotton Pickin' Song—Negro Work Song (Male Quartet).

Levee Song—(Sung by listeners).

Barnyard Song, Kentucky Mt. Song.

A "Come All Ye," north woods song.

Home on the Range (Cowboy song).

"Blow the Man Down" (Cape Cod Chanty—Male Quartet).

Deep River (arr. by S. Coleridge Taylor and Maude Powell—violin solo).⁴

In addition to its American School of the Air, the Columbia System presents other educational features. A typical week (that of March 15, 1931) shows the following items of interest to the social science pupils:

Date	Broadcast	Time in Minutes
March 15	Columbia's Commentator, Dr. Charles Fleischer	10
	London Broadcast, Sir Samuel Hoare, M. P.	15
	Kaltenborn Edits the News	15
March 16	American School of the Air	30
	Kaltenborn Edits the News	15
	<i>Literary Digest</i> "Topics in Brief"	15
March 17	Senator Arthur Capper, "Our Government"	15
	Pres. Cosgrave, Irish Free State	20
	American School of the Air	30
	National Student Federation	30
	National Security League Series	15
	Frederick W. Wile, "The Political Situation in Washington"	15
	<i>Literary Digest</i> "Topics in Brief"	15
	Kaltenborn Edits the News	15
March 18	American School of the Air	30
	<i>Literary Digest</i> "Topics in Brief"	15
March 19	American School of the Air	30
	<i>Literary Digest</i> "Topics in Brief"	15
	Kaltenborn Edits the News	15
March 20	American School of the Air	30
	<i>Literary Digest</i> "Topics in Brief"	15
March 21	National Democratic Club Forum	45

March 21	<i>Literary Digest</i> "Topics in Brief"	15
	National Radio Forum, Washington	30
	Total Number of Minutes	495
Total number of minutes devoted to educational features including other items as well as the above		1440
(approximately twenty-four hours) ^a		

Station WABC operates 122½ hours a week. Twenty-four hours of educational material is 19 per cent of the total operating time. Eight hours approximates the amount of weekly time especially interesting to the social science student.

Though the National Broadcasting Company furnished no detailed weekly analysis in response to a request for information about its educational time allotment, Mr. Arnold, the Director of Development, states that fully fifty hours of educational material are on the air each week. This material is sometimes of historical interest; so between the two national radio chains, the student should find social science material even in the summer, when radio programs are generally conceded to be less effective and ambitious than in the other months of the year. In response to a request for advance information of historical broadcasts, Mr. Arnold replies: "As these programs are made out monthly, I cannot give you at this writing an advance schedule." The use of the facilities of the National Broadcasting Company by educators involving broadcasting from New York or other studios should be taken up with the Educational Division of the Program Board.

It is the duty of the history teacher to call the attention of pupils to broadcasts which may be heard at home in the evening. Boys and girls listen to programs as a matter of habit; it would be well, therefore, to remind them that they can hear and learn. "Death Valley Days," "Empire Builders," "Famous Trials in History," the Floyd Gibbons broadcasts, the "March of Time," "Our Government," the National Farm and Home Hour, "The World's Business," "Soconyland Sketches," "Dramas of Old New York," "Back of the News in Washington," "Stories of the Old South," "Red Goose Adventures," Boy Scout Programs, "Laws that Safeguard Society," "Covered Wagon Days," "Views and Interviews" are all examples of programs which are instructive as well as entertaining. The Nash Motors Broadcast, "Stirring Events in American History," was an educational type of commercial broadcast. General Motors "Parade of the States" is an interesting series of broadcasts. The program of November 9, "Alabama," may be taken as an example of this series in which two-minute addresses on the history of each state are supplemented by appropriate orchestral music:

Evolution of Dixie }
French Crusaders' March } Orchestra

Plantation Scene (Quartet with Banjos)
Southern Rhapsody (Orchestra)
Old South (Orchestra)
Alabama (Historical sketch by Bruce Barton presenting items of interest about the state in the past and as it stands today)

An international collegiate debate over the National Broadcasting Company's chain in December presented an argument between the Oxford and Harvard debating teams for judgment by radio audiences in England and the United States.

The series of radio lectures on economics and psychology sponsored by the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, with broadcasts of such timely appeal as "Effects of Depression upon Employment and Wages," has met with great success. Within one week after the initial broadcast, more than 10,000 requests were made for the "Listener's Notebook," the guide to the series published by the University of Chicago Press.

Opportunity for enlightenment on modern problems and acquaintance with great national figures is open every week to those who consult the programs printed in the daily newspapers. New Englanders, if plans of the Boston School Committee develop successfully, will soon have a "school of the air" primarily intended to interest parents, but also of interest to social science students. The project will not add to the expense of maintaining the Boston school system, as Mr. John Shepard, III, of Station WNAC, has offered the facilities of the station for ten to thirty minutes daily in the interest of education. A contact man from the Columbia System, Lawrence J. Flynn of New York, appeared before the committee to present details of a workable plan by which school officials—committee members, the superintendent and his subordinates—will discuss educational problems, give historical talks on appropriate occasions (i.e., "Washington," on February 22), and explain means by which parents can cooperate with the school authorities. The project, then would differ from the American School of the Air in that it would not attempt a curriculum presentation; the plan amounts to a public relations program designed to form a closer bond between parents and schools; to emphasize historical days and dates; to give public health or recreation programs. There is no doubt that social science students could profit by attention to the broadcasts which result from cooperation between WNAC and the school department; the civics courses, for example, would have more direct contact with the problems of the school department.

To be sure, air education will always play a supplementary rôle; it will aid, but never compete with or attempt to displace the classroom teacher. It can contribute many educational features which the school cannot give so well, or cannot provide at

all. It will act as a stimulant to emotional inspiration and interest; it will aid in the development of a desire to learn.

To know their world and to understand the background of its present-day conflicts, to keep in touch with changing social and political conditions, to find direct contact with the men who make history, pupils in social science classes should be told of the advantages and aids to study which are today literally as free as the air.

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¹ Perry, Armstrong, *Radio in Education*, p. 57.

² Perry, Armstrong, *Radio in Education*, p. 24.

³ *The American School of the Air*, Teachers' Manual and Classroom Guide, p. 14.

⁴ *American School of the Air*, Teachers' Manual and Classroom Guide, p. 35.

⁵ Statement furnished by the Columbia Broadcasting System.

Do We Teach Racial Intolerance?

By EMILY V. BAKER

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If we are sound in our belief that public thinking is determined even to a small degree by the school teachers of America, it is time somebody interpreted to the elementary school teacher the possibilities and dangers which lurk in certain elementary school subjects, for upon the elementary teacher falls the responsibility of guiding the thinking of our coming citizens through what is commonly believed to be the most impressionable period of their lives.

That most elementary school teachers are dealing with subject matter much too complicated for their training, and that the load they carry is far too heavy to afford them time to make adequate preparation for the teaching of certain controversial topics is a matter of common knowledge. So long as this condition exists it would be better to lighten their load by dropping from the curriculum certain subjects than to fail to lead them to see the secret of improving their opportunities.

In the few examples which follow I shall endeavor to prove a statement I hold to be true, namely: The teaching of such social studies as geography and history toward which we look for the establishment of wholesome attitudes toward our fel-

lowmen can be, and in many cases is, positively vicious. The examples cited are actual cases which I have witnessed as a supervisor of teachers—both experienced and inexperienced—and as an observer of conditions relative to a subject replete with socializing possibilities.

A student teacher of one year's public school experience was teaching the story of the Huns to fifth grade pupils when I entered the room. From the children she was evoking such comments as the following:

"The Huns had thick lips and flat noses."

"They lived in small, dirty houses."

"They all ate out of one dish on the floor."

"They ate with their fingers, too."

"They were cruel to other people."

When I thought the "fearful" picture complete, I asked how many in the class were related to these Huns. As was to be expected, not one acknowledged relationship to such a race. Then I brought to every face in the room an expression of astonishment by saying, "I am." With the aid of the map I showed the route of the Huns and explained that their descendants are to be found still in the

areas they traversed. Then, lest they think my brothers and me inferior to them, I led the same kind of people across Europe into Scandinavia, the land of their forbears. The simple but vital truth that the Huns, as the pupils were picturing them, were typical of all peoples at a certain level of what we choose to call civilization was overlooked entirely by the teacher. Perhaps it is asking too much of a teacher to expect her to apply this principle using a textbook whose discussion of the Huns is given under the title, "Attila, the Fearful Hun." But we must lead teachers to consider themselves bigger than textbooks, at least until we have fewer textbooks from certain versatile and apparently omniscient authors. In my opinion the gravest danger in the teaching of this lesson lay in the fact that in a few years these boys and girls will be studying the battle waged against people commonly called the Huns in the years 1914-1918. If the concept Hun is laid as this teacher was building it up, these pupils will find it hard not to feel that their brothers and fathers were opposing such people as their textbook pictured. We must remember that early impressions persist.

Teaching the Spaniards as cruel is a favorite pastime of teachers of history. Of course, Pizarro treated the Incas with indescribable cruelty, but unless we are willing to have the behavior of the keepers of certain American institutions taken as typical of American conduct, we should not teach Pizarro as typical of the Spaniards' attitude toward the Indians. Instead, or, if you prefer, along with the story of Pizarro, let us make much of the erection and maintenance of the Spanish missions from which radiated to the brothers of the Incas the enlightening influences of Spanish culture and good will.

In the spring of 1932, I heard an unusually promising teacher of senior high school geography begin a class with the following question: What do you think of when Germany is mentioned? That the newspapers, film producers, and school teachers of America did not sign the armistice on November 11, 1918 was evident in the pupils' responses. The replies showed that these students, most of whom were babies at the time of the war, are now as thoroughly inoculated with the anti-Teutonic virus as most of us were in 1917. The teacher's next step in the lesson showed one reason why this condition prevails. In teaching the geography of Germany in 1932, the center of thought was the war and peace time location of Germany. Happily, a later discussion of the lesson led the teacher to a confused state of mind out of which it is hoped will come, with time, a broader vision. If nations are like the individuals of which they are composed, and, if the principle of burying the

hatchet is good for quarreling neighbors to contemplate, it is time we quit teaching geography from the viewpoint of the war.

I know of a select school in which even in 1931-1932 the teachers had no concern about money. In that school a junior high school class spent nearly a year making a film intended to depict the geography of an important British possession. I saw the film. The manner in which life in the trenches of France was enacted by boys and girls most of whom were unborn at the time of the World War left little to the imagination.

On special display in the library of one of the most highly respected teachers colleges in the country, in July, 1932, while the Lausanne Conference was striking from the records the German war guilt clause, was placed a book written by an American in 1918. The book is attractively bound and profusely illustrated with real gems of art, but it abounds in such expressions as the following:

"Gone, too, is the celebrated restaurant Lips, where diners used to throw bread crusts down to a huge black bear in a sort of deep well. Gone is the large cage of storks, beloved of children. In its place is a huge ugly modern German building, looking entirely out of place, of course, and a standing example of the Teutonic lack of taste."

In speaking of the clock in the cathedral at Strassburg the author says, "Only the top is Gothic in form; all the rest is hopelessly German, and as bizarre as only a German could make it."

Why should a teachers college purchase such a book in 1928? Why should it establish and perpetrate in young teachers the attitudes many of us are struggling to free ourselves from? What do the colleges lay out to offset the influence of such material? The answer is: little or nothing. The evidence is to be found in such activities as that engaged in by the high school class referred to, and in the responses made by pupils in a fifth grade in December, 1931. At that time I gave, preparatory to the study of Europe, a standardized test in which the pupils were asked to select from six possible reasons three reasons why Germany is a strong nation. Sixteen out of twenty-one pupils chose "Germany has a strong navy" as one of the elements of Germany's strength. Another proof that we can leave the teaching of prejudice and fear to chance.

The cases cited are typical of many met frequently by students of the teaching situation. They are disheartening, surely, but not because growing teachers are unresponsive. The discouraging feature lies, rather, in the attitude of the teachers of teachers. One of my good friends, a critic teacher in a well-known teachers college, was guilty recently of carrying on a dramatization in which the

Irish were represented by one character—a boy clad in ragged overalls and a slouch hat. He bore a pitchfork. Why not display, also, the maker of delicate Irish lace or pure Irish linen?

A few months ago, I observed a teacher in a demonstration school conduct a class in the social sciences. The plans being made in Los Angeles for the Olympic games were the topic of the day. In discussing the preparations to be made for the representatives of Holland and Germany, the teacher, a likeable, forceful woman, told the boys and girls that the Dutch and Germans were fat and pudgy. Much food must be provided for them because, "How they love to eat! And how they show it!" Thus, by a teacher of teachers are blasted the hopes of those who expected to see international understanding increased through the holding of the games in our own country.

While the southerners are diligently and intelligently attacking their race problem by organizing an interracial commission, a teacher of social problems in a northern teachers college is berating the negro before students who must teach mixed classes. I know his students leave his class with the belief that it is right to give negroes in their classes little attention because members of the black race are incapable of improving their intellectual opportunities. Those of us who are acquainted with schools for the feeble-minded recall only too well pictures of the lack of intelligence written on the faces of members of the white race to know that color is not an infallible index of intelligence.

Equally depressing is it to find given in a book written for teachers of elementary school English a model composition which runs thus: "When we lived there we kept it (the house) as clean as we could. The people that live there now are foreigners and are untidy.—An old mattress is lying under the steps.—"

I trust the reader sees running through these examples a common fault, that of assuming that one group of people possesses a certain undesirable quality exclusively. Let us look back over a few of these cases. If the Huns are the only people who ever ate with their fingers it might be permissible—though I believe not—to emphasize such a custom as peculiar to them. If the Spaniards were the only people who treated the Indians cruelly, we might with impunity—though I believe not—teach them as cruel. If untidy homes were found among foreigners, stressing the untidiness of foreigners might be considered just—though again I believe not advisable.

To offset the dangers of prejudicing boys and girls against certain groups of people a few simple principles may be applied with some hope of eventual success. 1. For two reasons, the unusual or

sordid in any people should not be taught as typical of that group: First, because no group has a monopoly on any brand of undesirable characteristic. Secondly, because the animosities we hear and see expressed are proof enough that the grime of life is already over-emphasized. 2. Avoid making any repellant suggestions, or, call to mind examples equally disparaging in people whom the children are admiring—usually themselves. For instance, most of us were ready in 1917 to fight the Germans as the arch-enemy of one of the most peace loving peoples in the world. But when we recall the treatment meted out by the Belgians to the natives of the Congo region the atrocities of the Germans seem more like retribution than persecution. Am I attempting to justify the Germans? Most certainly not. I am applying a principle I believe fair: When we apply black paint to any people, let's apply it to all alike. If we do this, can we name a nation that should go unspotted? Safer it is to leave the painting for a master hand to do. Surely none of us are virtuous enough to do it fairly. 3. Help pupils to know other peoples. Through knowledge comes understanding and appreciation. Teach the home life of boys and girls of other lands as an adjustment to conditions under which they live. Help them to understand why the Italian uses olive oil instead of butter. Help them to sense the nice adjustment to economic and social conditions in the small, densely populated areas of Europe in which the farmers till intensively their few acres. I have seen the eyes of boys and girls open wide with admiration when population figures for United States and Belgium were compared. I have seen a teacher of fifth grade geography ask who are the better farmers—the Belgians or the Americans. Unhesitatingly and unanimously the children replied, "The Belgians." I was glad I had the privilege of leading the teacher and children to see that methods profitable in Belgium would be not only unprofitable, but, also, foolish here. Better it is that they respect both groups of people. Stress the accomplishments of other people, and their contributions to our welfare. Sometime, boys and girls must learn that many of the beautiful and useful things we have are the gifts of other people. They take music, art, language, and books for granted. Not long ago the fifth grade under my direction were trying to show some of the gifts of other people to us. When I asked a little girl who plays the piano beautifully what she could give us, she was helpless. It had not occurred to her that playing Mozart's Minuet for us would be passing on to us the rare gift of a European. Always, let us remember with Charles Lamb that we cannot hate any one we know. 4. We as teachers must "get religion" before

we can give it to others. The principles set forth here cannot be practiced by a teacher who says and feels, "Every time I hear Mediterranean, I think Wop," as a junior high school critic confessed unabashed. Instead we must uproot our prejudices by reading and thinking unprejudicedly. We must acquaint ourselves with facts. Briefly, we must acquire a greater subject matter background than administrators demand.

To the teacher of children in the elementary grades is open one of the rarest privileges bestowed upon humankind, that of helping to make of future American citizens citizens of the world. We determine whether the pupils shall see Germany as the land of cruel, "tasteless," unthinking barbarians or as the home of world-famous mapmakers and manufacturers of delicately designed and exceedingly valuable instruments, and as the homeland of those rare artists and authors, Mendelssohn, Wagner, Goethe and Schiller. We can show the boys and girls of America, Italy as the hovel of the dago or Italy as the land of Marconi, Michelangelo,

and Caruso. We can teach the foreigner as a public menace or as the parent of Washington, Jefferson, or Lincoln. We can teach that when people come to this country they should give up the customs of their fathers or we can lead boys and girls to see that the foundations of our government, religion, language, and many of our holiday celebrations were laid across the water.

Probably the goal will not be reached during my teaching days. All good and lasting social improvements come slowly. But through the darkness of misunderstanding the voice of courage calls out a challenge to every teacher: Protect children's minds from prejudice and animosity with at least as much ardor as we show in shielding their eyes and ears from the incorrect forms in English and spelling. The tangible reward may come to teachers generations removed from us, but the satisfaction of having worked untiringly toward hastening the dawning of the day of understanding will give to every teacher who adopts this program sufficient impetus to keep faith with the cause.

A Chart Showing the Development of Minor Parties in the United States 1776-1932

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The terms "minor party" and "third party" have been used so loosely and with so great variation of connotation in the writings of American commentators upon political parties that no clear distinction can be discerned. What one denotes a "minor party" another of equal weight calls a "third party." Therefore the writer has set his own standard and will attempt to adhere as closely as possible to the maximum and minimum limits which he proposes to set for himself in attempting to present graphically the rise and fate of third or minor parties in the United States.

While many sources have been consulted and the presentation herein has been made to coincide with the majority, reference is made in the footnotes to commonly accepted texts of undoubted reputation. This is done so that those interested in the subject may readily examine further into the matter without the necessity of having recourse to sources not always available. Not all movements from every political party to every other faction, third party or minor party can clearly, accurately, or conven-

iently be presented. Therefore the political parties in the United States which elected presidential candidates in their own name will be omitted as major parties. These include the Federalists, Anti-Federalists, Democratic-Republicans or Jeffersonian Republicans, Whigs, Jacksonian Democrats or Democrats of the present, and the present Republican party.

Any political group, even in one state, which nominated presidential candidates in some national election and thereby determined the outcome of that election will be considered as a minor or third party. The list of these parties is taken from Professor S. J. Folmsbee's list in *American Political Parties and Presidential Elections from 1679 to 1932*, by Prufer and Folmsbee, p. 3. It is evident that some political groups here shown will be considered by some as only factions while other political groups omitted will be just as quickly claimed by some as entitled to be included. The preparation of such a chart is difficult and limits must be set.

This chart is the compliment of another by the

author on major political parties in the United States from 1679 through 1932.¹ The chart attempts to indicate the origin of minor parties and the fate of those parties after they had served their purpose. Following the general arrangement of the previous chart, the line of origin from the Federalist, Loose-Constructionist, National-Republican, Whig, Republican, etc., will be shown on the left with broken lines; the line of fate of the parties will be carried on the right in the same manner. In the center of this chart will be indicated the minor parties chronologically, with lines of origin and disappearance.

Before going into the explanation of the third or minor parties themselves the purpose and importance of these may properly be emphasized. Professor Ostrogorski says in his *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties*, vol. II, p. 359: "lastly, if breaches are made in party loyalty through certain conjunctures, it is also sometimes undermined, by the absence of all special conjunctures: when there are no points of disagreement between parties, when the latter being void of principles and ideas live only for themselves, when there is nothing to distinguish them one from the other apart from names which they assume. Party fetishism in that case flourishes inside the party as strongly as ever, but the state of demoralization to which they are reduced puts a premium on desertion as well as on the formation of new political sects, of 'third parties,' which are a refuge for honest and often absurd convictions thirsting for the truth, to vague discontent in search of a fulcrum or a lever for action. This, again, is all of so much injury inflicted on party loyalty." Professor Woodburn in his *Political Parties and Party Problems*, in speaking of the Know Nothing Party, said on page 100: "It served to detach men from old party loyalties and traditions, and many Whigs and Democrats and some Free-Soilers passed through this channel to become Republicans." Thus men who will not shift directly from one major party to another will sometimes make this step through the third party, organized for a special—and as is thought at the time—purely temporary purpose.

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN

1824-1834

The National Republican² Party developed as a result of varying political opinion. The Republican party split and new parties were formed. Clay and Adams led the National Republicans. They believed in a new banking system, national system of regulating currency, internal improvements, and in support of the National Government and the Constitution.

In 1828, the period of personal politics, the party put up Adams (their leader), and in 1832 they put up Clay, who was at that time leader. In 1828 Adams received 508,064 votes, and 83 electoral votes. He was beaten by Jackson, who received 178 electoral votes. In 1832, Clay and Wirt received 530,189 votes, and 56 electoral votes. Jackson received 219 electoral votes. In 1834 the National Republican party became known as the Whig party.

ANTI-MASON

1828-1832

The Anti-Masonic party³ developed as a result of feeling against the Masons, because of the mystery of William Morgan, who was going to publish a book on Freemasonry and suddenly disappeared. An Anti-Masonic Convention was held and a platform adopted providing that no member should vote for Masons who were nominated. The party increased so by 1830, that in 1832 they put up a candidate for the presidency. In 1830 it was the second largest party in New York.

In 1832 they put up William Wirt, who received 7 electoral votes. In 1835 their nominee was elected governor in Pennsylvania. The party entirely displaced the National Republican Party in New York.

It was swallowed by the Whig party after the election in 1832, in which party it remained a powerful faction. They secured the nomination of Harrison against Clay in 1836 and 1840.

NULLIFICATIONIST

1832

The passage of the Ordinance of Nullification by the South Carolina Legislature, November 24, 1832, was the climax to the Tariff Acts of 1828 and 1832. South Carolina Democrats were not willing to follow Jackson in his forceful measures, so they nominated John Floyd, governor of Virginia, as a Nullificationist candidate. Floyd himself was not a Nullificationist, but in several speeches to the Legislature he condemned the Tariff Acts. He received the eleven electoral votes of South Carolina. This group of dissenting Jacksonian Democrats later returned to their party after Jackson had retired from public office.⁴

ANTI-JACKSON

1836

South Carolina had encouraged Hugh Lawson White, Whig of Tennessee, to run against Webster and Van Buren, against Jackson's wishes. Wishing to offend Jackson, and yet not vote for Harrison (Democrat), Webster, or White, South Carolina

again sulked, went outside of the list of avowed candidates, and cast her eleven electoral votes for Senator Willie Mangum of North Carolina. Jackson had mortally offended South Carolina, and she had no idea of voting for a Whig or for Jackson's Democratic candidate, Van Buren. After that year, the party was absorbed back into the Democratic party.⁵

LIBERTY

1840-1848

Political abolitionists who were Anti-Slavery, met at Warsaw in 1839 and nominated James Birney for president. The nominations were confirmed and "Liberty Party"⁶ was adopted as a name in Albany, in 1840. Birney received 7059 popular votes in that year. In 1844 he received 65,608. In neither year did he receive an electoral vote. The votes cast for Birney probably caused Clay's defeat, and thus helped to elect a pro-slavery man. In 1848 the Liberty party supported the Free Soil candidates, and was trampled underfoot by them in that year, and, later, merged into the Republican party. It was a national and not a sectional party—organized not only for the overthrow of slavery but for the vindication of human rights.

FREE SOIL

1848-1855

The Free Soil party⁷ was organized in 1848. It was composed chiefly of Conscience Whigs, Barnburners, and Liberty members. They were opposed to the extension of slavery to states newly acquired from Mexico; wanted slavery abolished, and no more slave states admitted.

The first convention was held at Buffalo in 1848. They supported Van Buren in 1848, the Barnburner's nominee, and accepted him as their candidate. The Liberty party candidate, Hale, withdrew in his favor. Van Buren received 291,263 votes—no electoral votes. In 1852, the Free Soilers supported Hale, securing 156,149 popular votes. They believed in "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men." They maintained organization in Congress until the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, in 1854, created the Republican party, which adopted its policy, and into which merged the Free Soilers. This party was a training school for many Republican leaders.

AMERICAN

1852-1860

The Know Nothing,⁸ or American party began to develop in 1852, as a secret political organization. Its main purpose was to check immigration and prevent the naturalization of foreigners and

their participation in American politics. The popular name was applied because, when asked a question, the members replied "I don't know." Their slogan was "Americans shall rule America." In 1854 they carried Massachusetts, and almost all of New York. In 1856 they came out of disguise and entered the campaign, securing 874,534 popular votes, and eight electoral votes for Fillmore. In some sections they were second to the Republicans. In 1860 the party ceased to exist, most of the northern members going to the Republican, and the southern, to the Constitutional Union, parties.

CONSTITUTIONAL UNION

1860

Once known as the Bell-Everett party for its leaders, it later became known as the Constitutional Union party.⁹ It believed in support of no political principle other than the Constitution, the Union, and law enforcement. They ignored the slavery question. It was one of the four parties contesting in the 1860 election. Owing to a division in the Democratic party, they received 588,879 popular votes, and thirty-nine electoral votes. This party was composed of remnants of the Whig party who had gone over to the Know Nothings in 1856. After the 1860 campaign, due to the Civil War, the party was submerged. Probably it was mainly absorbed into the Democratic party of the South.

INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATS

1872-1876

The Independent Democratic party¹⁰ was composed of members of the Democratic party who refused to accept the nominations of Horace Greeley and Gratz Brown. They nominated Charles O'Connor for president and Adams for vice-president. They party received not quite 30,000 votes. The convention met in Louisville, Kentucky. They endorsed both platform and nominations of the Liberal Republicans. Some of the members later became Mugwumps, and some went into the Democratic party.

TEMPERANCE—PROHIBITIONIST

1869-1932

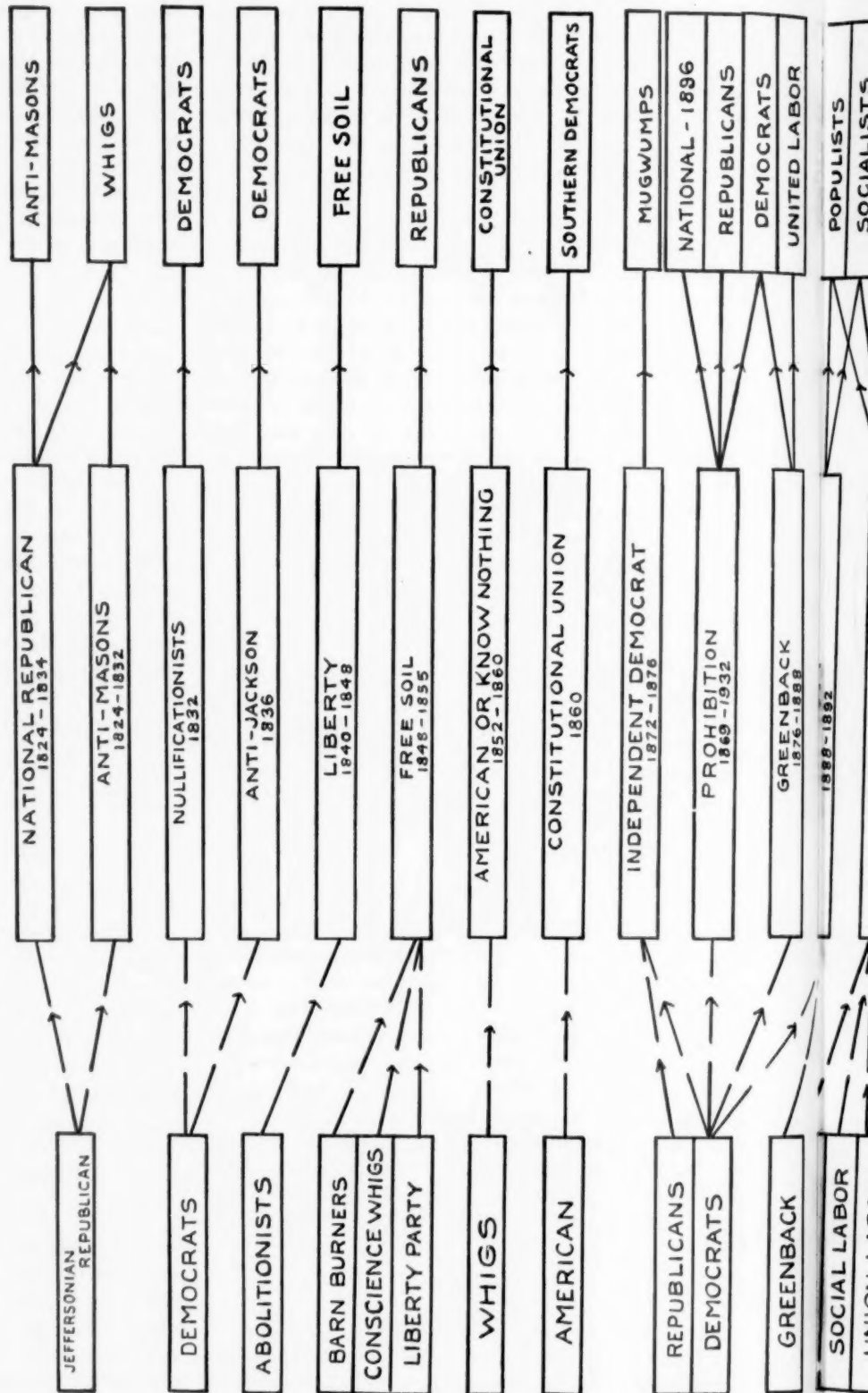
The Temperance party¹¹ came into being in 1872, and has regularly nominated candidates ever since. Their main issue was the prohibition of the sale and the manufacture of intoxicating drinks, except for religious, medicinal, and scientific purposes. Black was their first candidate in 1872. He polled 5684 popular but no electoral votes. In 1876 Smith received 9522 popular votes; in 1880 Dow received

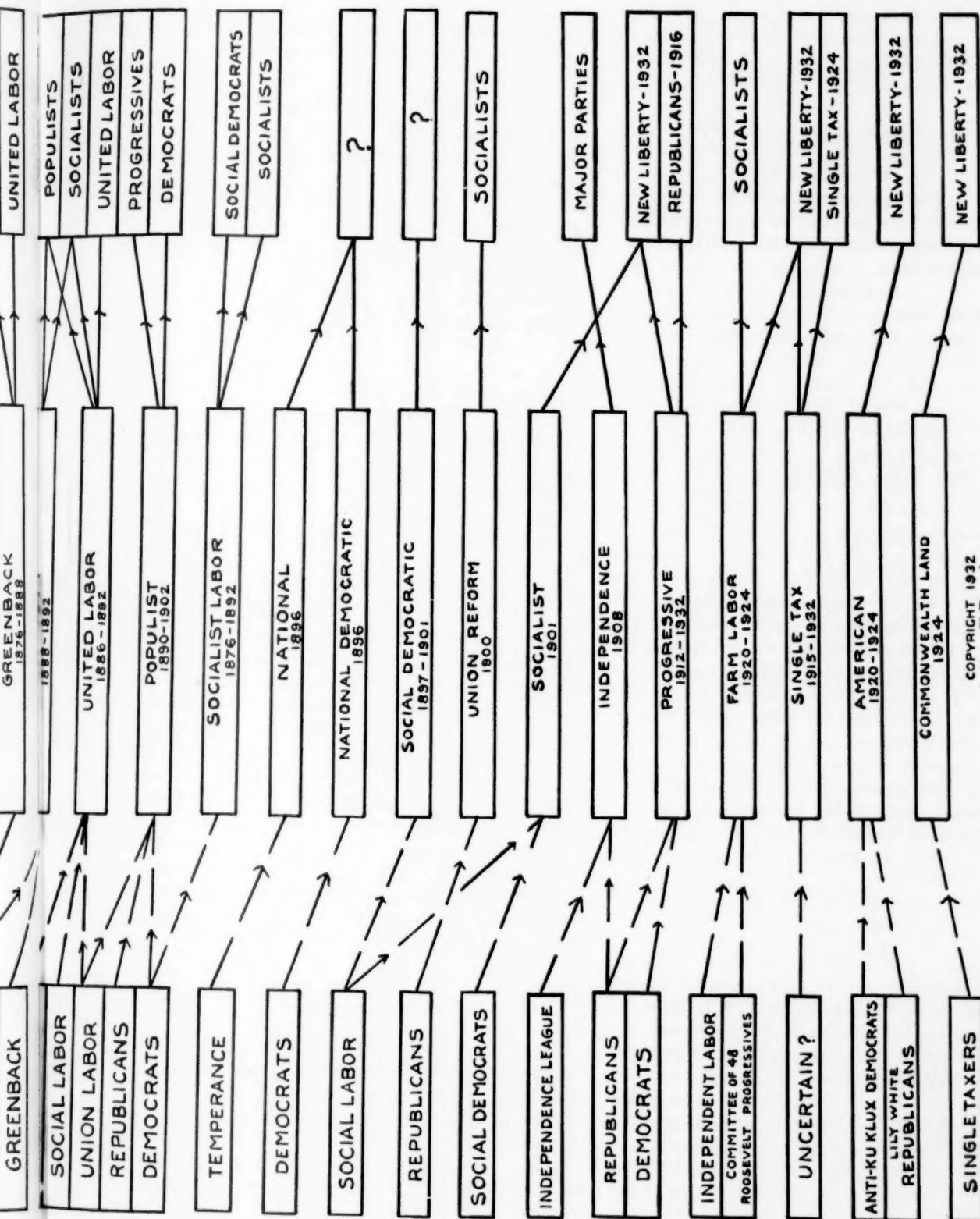
A CHART SHOWING THE ORIGIN AND FATE OF THIRD PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES 1776-1932



Socialist Ticket

Prohibition Ticket





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ROANOKE COLLEGE

10,305 popular votes; in 1884 Butler received 173,370 popular votes. The party has not increased voting strength, but has persisted until 1932. It is the longest lived and most persistent third party. It split in 1896. Some members went to National, some to Democratic, and some to Republican party.

GREENBACK

1876-1888

The farmers entered politics in 1876 as "Independent National," or the Greenback party.¹² Their strength was in the west, and it was a minor factor in presidential elections, but showed enough strength to act "as a threat to old parties." In 1878, thirteen Greenbacks were elected to the House of Representatives. The party is notable as the first political expression of agrarian discontent, as a first effort to unite farmer and labor votes, and as a forerunner of Populist and Labor parties. In 1884, Butler secured 173,370 popular votes. That year the Greenbacks and Democrats fused in some of the Western States. In 1888 it was superseded by the Union Labor party.

UNION LABOR

1888-1892

The Union Labor party¹³ was the result of the fusion of the Greenbacks and Democrats in 1884. In 1888 the party organized and met in a national convention at Cincinnati, and drafted a platform, adopting the principal doctrines of the Labor Reformers. They also demanded popular election of United States Senators, reform of railroad and trust laws—issue of paper money, and control of currency by government instead of banks. They first made nominations in the election of 1888, receiving for Streeter 146,935 popular votes. Most of the members joined the Populist party at the next election, in 1892.

UNITED LABOR

1886-1892

The United Labor party¹⁴ was formed through the efforts of Prof. Walter Thomas of Milwaukee, representative of Trades and Labor Corporation, because of an unsuccessful attempt to combine political and industrial actions of the labor movement. After a strike in 1912, two organizations were formed: the United Labor party—industrial, and the New Zealand Federation of Labor—political. The whole organization was termed The United Labor Party. It was later called the Social Democratic Party. It advocated single tax theories and public ownership of railroads and 'phones, child labor laws, shorter labor hours, and laws pro-

hibiting use of money in elections. They gained influence in New York in 1886 in municipal politics, and got 2818 votes for Cowdrey in 1888—presidential candidate. The party soon split—some went Socialist, and some remained in the party.

POPULIST ("PEOPLE'S" PARTY)

1890-1902

The Populist party¹⁵ was essentially an agrarian movement, one of protest. In 1890 the west had a majority in the Senate and the electoral college. In 1890 the Farmer's Alliance, and members of the Greenback faction, elected nine representatives and two Senators. Definite organization took place in 1892, when the farmers and laborers united to form the Populist party. It had strength among the common people. If Bryan had not secured the Democratic party in the next presidential campaign, the Populist would have become the major party. In the election of 1892, Weaver received 1,040,886 popular votes and twenty-two electoral. The party demanded free coinage of silver, issue of greenbacks, limitation of government expenses, postal savings bank, income tax laws, etc. The party ceased to exist after the Progressive movement in 1902.

SOCIALIST LABOR

1876-1897

The Socialist Labor party¹⁶ entered the political arena in 1876, with the founding of the party for the purpose of presenting candidates in local elections. The organizers were chiefly German working men. Votes have never included more than ten per cent of Americans. It may be because of that, that the party has polled insignificant votes in national elections. It represents extreme types of industrial socialism, of no influence in American politics, and of no great effect in the political movement of the lower classes. In 1892 they secured for Wing, the presidential candidate, 21,532 popular votes. It merged into the Social Democratic party of 1897 and thence to the Socialists of 1924.

NATIONAL

1896

The economic democracy of Nationalism guarantees people against numerous and grievous oppressions exercised by economic methods.¹⁷ It is the corollary and necessary supplement of political democracy. The economic system in the United States has offered freely a field for individual enterprise. In 1896 a group of persons seceded from the Prohibition party convention because they wanted to endorse prohibition, silver coinage, direct presidential and senatorial elections, initiative,

referendum, and proportional representation. They put up Bentley for candidate and secured for him 13,968 popular votes.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATS

1896

The National Democrats¹⁸ came out of the Democratic party as a result of revolt against certain declarations and actions of the convention. John M. Palmer was put up for president and secured 134,645 popular votes. They pledged equal justice to all men, support of states, sound money, and public faith, the gold standard, and all old policies of the Democratic party. They left it because of certain beliefs this convention advocated. The nomination was not made with the idea of victory but for Democrats who would not vote the Republican ticket.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC

1897-1901

The Social Democratic party¹⁹ was the result of a railway strike in 1894, in Chicago. Men thought the government was sympathetic toward "Capitalistic parties." They made efforts to join the two Socialist parties, but could not agree on programs. In 1901, some of the Socialist Labor party members came over to the Socialist Democrats, and made an effort at union of the two. Later they became known as the Socialist party, representing two different schools of Socialism—radical and conservative. In 1900 the Social Democrats put up Debs and got 94,864 popular votes. It was absorbed into the Socialist party in 1901.

UNION REFORM

1900

The Union Reform party²⁰ was located in Pennsylvania, apparently arising out of the Republican party, Seth H. Ellis was put up for president, with Samuel T. Nicholas of Pennsylvania. They received 5698 popular votes. The party was absorbed back into the Republican party.

SOCIALIST

1901

This party was the result of the combination of Social Democratic and Socialist Labor parties.²¹ The members aspired to the establishment of a Socialist regime by peaceful, legal, and evolutionary processes. Anti-revolutionary ideas were prevalent. They desired state aid for the working classes. In 1904 they put up Debs and secured 402,895 popular votes; in 1908 they put him up again and secured 901,873 for him; in 1916 they received for Benson 586,113 votes; in 1920, Debs ran again

and secured 919,799 votes. At no time did they secure electoral votes. The party is still in existence, but is found mostly in the New Liberty party of 1932.

INDEPENDENCE

1908

The Independence party²² grew out of the Independence League, in 1908. The National Convention nominated Hisgen, of Massachusetts, for president. The platform recommended direct nomination of all officers, initiative and referendum, recall, popular election of United States Senators, low tariff, strong navy, and outlawing of gambling in food stuffs. In 1908 they secured for Hisgen 83,651 popular votes. After this campaign, nothing was said about them. Apparently the party returned to various major parties.

PROGRESSIVE

1912-1932

The Progressive party²³ had its beginning during the administrations of Taft and Roosevelt, as reaction against undue influences of privileged classes. The platform was "A covenant with the people," and embodied a large number of popular reforms—equal suffrage of men and women, popular election of senators, reform of amending constitution, recall of judicial decisions, strengthening of certain laws, business methods in Federal departments, initiative, referendum, recall, short ballot, etc.

In 1912 the party ran second to the Democrats, securing 4,199,507 popular votes, and 88 electoral votes. During Wilson's first administration, dissatisfaction led to reunion of Progressive and Republican parties. However, a small group left, and put up Parker for vice-president in 1916. It is now included in the Liberty party of 1932.

FARMER LABOR

1920-1924

The Farmer Labor party²⁴ was formed in 1920 by the fusion of the Independent Labor party and a group of Liberals represented by the "Committee of Forty-Eight" (Roosevelt Progressives). Its platform denounced government by wealthy men who had stripped the power from the people. They claimed that the government should operate mines and like industries. In 1920 they put up Christensen for president, and got 265,411 popular votes. They were severely critical of the two great parties. They favored high taxation of war profits and large incomes. Some of the members went into the Socialist party; the remainder went into the Liberty party of 1932.

SINGLE TAX 1915-1932

The Single Tax party²⁵ was organized in 1915, and by 1920 had been organized in twenty-six states. The National convention was held in Chicago in 1920, and adopted a platform that demanded collection by government of all rental value of land, and that all improvements, industry, and enterprises be exempt from taxation. They put up Robert C. Macauley for president, and received 5837 popular votes for him. The party arose because of failure of old parties to deal adequately and justly with the faulty tax system. The party went into the Liberal party of 1932.

AMERICAN 1920-1924

The American party²⁶ of 1920 was the third political party in America to be called by that name. It was organized as a result of disputes. It was a combination of Anti-Ku Klux Klan Democrats and "Lily White" Republicans. They formed opposition to the Democrats in Texas, 1920, put up Nations in 1924 for president, and secured 23,967 popular votes for him. The party merged into the New Liberty party of 1932.

COMMONWEALTH LAND 1924

The Commonwealth Land party²⁷ was the former Single Tax party of 1915, and embodied many of the principles. The convention met in New York, February 8 and 9, 1924, and nominated William Wallace of New Jersey and Lincoln of Ohio, for vice-president. The candidate appeared only on the Illinois ballot in 1924, and found most of its strength in the middle west.

The party disappeared. Some of the members probably migrated to the New Liberty party of 1932.

Thus in our history there have been twenty-six known minors or third parties of this type. Some, such as the Commonwealth Land have been very minor indeed; the National party of 1896 has left no trace at all. The Nullificationist of 1832 by backing Governor Floyd of Virginia spited themselves. Many other political groups have had greater influence than some of these here listed. The Blue-Light Federalists, the Albany Regency, the Mugwumps, the Anti-Smith Democrats—these help elect or defeat candidates in their day. But many were only factions and temporary. The placing of a presidential candidate in the field was finally decided upon as the criterion to be used to distinguish the minor parties from such factions.

Truly, as Ostrogarski and Woodburn have said, these protest groups have served as stepping stones from one great party to another.

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- ¹⁰ Smith, p. 397; Woodburn, p. 251.
- ¹¹ Smith, p. 337; Woodburn, pp. 252-254.
- ¹² Bruce, *American Parties and Politics*, p. 89; Beard, *American Party Battle*, p. 104.
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- ¹⁴ Bruce, *American Parties and Politics*, p. 139; Smith, *American Encyclopedia*, p. 426.
- ¹⁵ Smith, p. 327; Woodburn, p. 147; Bruce, *American Parties and Politics*.
- ¹⁶ Bruce, *American Parties and Politics*, p. 138.
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- ¹⁹ Bruce, *American Parties and Politics*, p. 139.
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- ²⁴ Holcombe, *Political Parties of Today*, pp. 335-341, 367; Smith, *Dictionary*, p. 142.
- ²⁵ *The Independent*, October 16, 1920, Article one.
- ²⁶ Smith, *Dictionary*, p. 12.
- ²⁷ *Americana*, Annual Volume, 1925, pp. 248-249; *World Almanac*, 1925, p. 871.

The October number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* has an account of "General Duportail at Valley Forge," by Elizabeth S. Kite. This exceedingly important and almost forgotten officer was chief of engineers under Washington, and among all the foreign volunteers who came to the aid of the Colonies, none was more zealous than he in his loyalty nor more capable in his understanding of the science of war.

Among the articles in the December *Fortnightly* which will be of more than passing interest to the historian are A. Zimmern's "Disarmament: The Decisive Phase"; Raymond Gram Swing's "The Change in America," a study of the election results which he thinks, after all, will make but little change; "Mr. de Valera's Republic," by Hugh A. Law; "The Red Scourge in China" by O. M. Green, which adds little new to one's knowledge of what is really happening there; and the "French Graves of English Kings" by G. L. Merchant.

The New Course in European History in New York City High Schools

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I. CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING TO THE PREPARATION OF THE REVISED COURSE

The high schools of New York City, in common with those of the rest of New York state, have in recent years generally devoted two terms, or one year, to the teaching of the course known as Modern European History, and listed among the subjects in which Regents' examinations are given as History B. While this course is not prescribed for graduation, as the course in American History is, it is, in most New York schools, a required subject, and hence it is rightfully considered one of the main subjects in the curriculum. It has received for years the attention of thousands of pupils and hundreds of teachers, and has been the object of solicitude on the part of countless supervisory officers, from the director of social sciences at Albany to the chairmen in the individual high schools.

For a long time—it may be said, since the World War—a feeling has existed, and has been constantly growing, that this course has not been functioning as it should. The District Superintendent assigned to high schools has commented caustically that "History is one of the poorest-taught subjects in the high schools," and has charged specifically that its teachers generally were overlooking the real values, were emphasizing the wrong things. He and other critics have accused us, too, of losing the forest in studying minutely the trees, and, particularly, of going into valueless details of political history while neglecting more important cultural elements, such as the effects of great economic and industrial movements on the art and literature of the peoples.

The reply of the teachers to all this has been, first, an admission that the old course as taught has been too factual, and that, as a result, the learning process has often degenerated into "cramming," which some teachers have encouraged. Second, a plea is emphatically made that the tendencies complained of are the inevitable result, not of desire to teach in that way, but of the necessity of conforming to a syllabus imposed from above. They add that each year the content of the course of study has grown bulkier and more burdensome; and that, when new developments of importance present themselves for study, new facts have to be mastered,

to explain situations, while nothing of equivalent length is taken out. Finally, the teachers declare that the dual overshadowing presences of the State Regents' examinations and the requirements for college entrance have prevented them from teaching the "real history," which they agree is the reasonable explanation of vital world situations rather than the examination of the course of past political changes.

II. THE PREPARATION OF THE SYLLABUS

This mounting dissatisfaction and constant re-creation at length reached an issue in the school year 1929-30. On the initiative of District Superintendent John L. Tildsley, and with the cordial approval of Associate Superintendent-in-charge-of-high-schools Harold G. Campbell, a committee for action was then appointed. This committee was charged to undertake the preparation of a new syllabus in Modern European History—a syllabus which, it was hoped, would obviate the faults complained in the old one, and would merit the approval of supervisors, teachers, and pupils alike. The committee was composed of Mr. A. S. Beatman, first assistant in charge of the social sciences at the Julia Richman High School, Manhattan, who acted as the chairman; and with him acted several other chairmen of history departments or their representatives, to contribute helpful attitudes and the results of their experience. The chairman of the committee was granted relief from his regular duties, so as to be able to concentrate his efforts upon directing and coördinating the work on the new plan.

In collaboration with this committee, a movement was started, which has since continued; namely, the holding of meetings, about once a month, of all the history chairmen in the city high schools, to discuss problems of common interest and current importance. These meetings have thus far been held at the Washington Irving High School, on account of its central location. They are held on week-day afternoons, usually at 1:30, and the attendance of chairmen is expected, formal notification being sent in advance from the office of the Board of Education to the principals, and the chairmen being excused from other school duties on the afternoons as-

signed. The meetings take the form of round-table conferences, which are presided over by the president of the chairmen's group, who is elected annually by that group. The attendance usually reaches about thirty-five persons, and the discussion is by no means indifferent or stilted.

This group was asked to register its opinion on the advisability of preparing a new syllabus, and upon the choice and arrangement of the topics that should go into it. The decision on the first point showed practical unanimity, as was expected. The second point was presented at one of the meetings, in the form of a request that each chairman present write down three topics which he or she would consider indispensable in the subject-matter of the course.

The resulting list of topics afforded a striking illustration of the variety and comprehensiveness of the material which, in the opinion of these experienced supervisors, should go to make up the background of pupils in the modern progressive high-school who are engaged in developing an understanding of and a feeling for modern problems. The development of democracy, and its present straits, stood out in the minds of all as a topic that contains much of the warp and woof of our current political thinking. The existence of imperialistic ambitions, and efforts for and against their realization, was declared to be a subject for careful consideration. The problems of labor are found to be present, in one form or another, in the lives of all. Concrete applications of these great forces found less general agreement as necessary topics for study. Thus, the Unification of Germany, time-honored unit in many a textbook, was said by many to be only one of several equally valid vehicles for giving a good understanding of Nationalism as good and evil. The results of the questionnaire were collected and tabulated for the use of the syllabus committee.

That committee was guided to some extent by these recommendations, but, after all, as was no doubt inevitable, it relied mainly upon the individual views of its members, influenced to some extent by the suggestions of Dr. Tildsley. At many of the group meetings, serious efforts were made to reach a thoughtful understanding of what this new course ought to accomplish, before the medium for accomplishing it was too definitely set down. Thus, on one occasion, each chairman present was invited to name three qualities or skills that should be developed in pupils by the proper pursuit of the course. The results were interesting. Intellectual curiosity, it was agreed, should be stimulated more than heretofore. Intellectual honesty, not so easy to define, harder still to measure, was declared to be a *sine qua non* now too often lacking in high school graduates. Open-mindedness, willingness to suspend judgment until all available evidence is in, ought to be

consciously cultivated. Tolerance, "religious, racial, social, intellectual," is even more needed than we thought it, a few years ago. Then there are some virtues of a more scholastic character that were advocated by some chairmen, particularly of the older school. Among these are accuracy in research, straightness in thinking, fineness in expression. It was felt by some that these are powers not so well habituated, because not so strongly stressed as formerly, due possibly to the modern greater emphasis upon the "social virtues" as such. In the consensus of the group, it was felt that practically everything of real educational import could find in our subject a valuable adjunct. Our problem, then, resolved itself into determining the best selection of method and material for making these qualities and skills a real part of the mental and social make-up of our pupils.

In the choice and application of methods, the committee came to the conclusion that no one method or set of methods need be adhered to by all. Rather, let the objectives and capabilities of the individual teachers—governed, of course, by their experience and that of their associates and their supervisors—dictate the methods to be applied. To quote from the "Aims," as stated in the first edition of the committee's report:

Teachers should have the widest latitude in choosing the facts they will use. The facts given in the syllabus are intended as suggestions, not dogmatic declarations as to what must be learned. Some teachers prefer to give their pupils a survey of many details; others prefer to concentrate on few. The same end may well be reached by another method. . . . It is the opinion of the committee that many facts will be read by pupils or introduced by the teacher for the building up of an important concept, but that the pupils should not be expected to memorize such facts. A novelist in writing a novel introduces many small details . . . with the purpose of producing a certain impression upon the reader. The reader forgets most of the details but the impression lasts. The same impression would hardly be made if the details were omitted. History teaching is an art no less than novel writing. The good teacher may introduce many details for the purpose of general impression, but he will not think of requiring the pupils to remember all the details as such.

III. THE SYLLABUS OF THE COURSE

In assembling and arranging the material for the syllabus, the committee divided it into "Units," selected according to the consensus of opinion on the relative importance of the topics, as discussed above. A Unit is taken to mean a distinct subdivision of the field, covering one general topic of major importance which is capable of being presented as a whole, including its relation to modern life.

On each of these Units except the first—which

will be differentiated later—an outline was presented, embodying the main headings of the subject-matter to be taught, with sub-headings necessary for its development, and teaching suggestions. Appended to many Units were brief bibliographies, suggestions for which were widely sought among the teachers. The various outlines themselves were prepared by sub-committees, assigned as far as practicable according to the tastes and special interests of the members. Thus, some who have been quite active in trade unionism took special interest in the Unit "Labor"; others, members or correspondents of peace societies, developed the Unit "Peace." When the sub-committees reported, lively discussion ensued, resulting in numerous reconstructions; in some cases, the entire Unit was rewritten.

A very practical consideration arose at this point, viz: the proper division of time to be devoted to each unit. Like other points, the decision on this was necessarily tentative, and the time-allotment suggested was contingent on the thoroughness of treatment presented, which, as explained above, was admittedly very flexible. This thought was embodied by the committee in the following "Note of Explanation":

The methods, suggestions and bibliographies which are given with some topics are in very rough form. We thought we would include them for what they are worth and improve them next year, as well as fill in where they are lacking.

The following schedule of Units, with the lesson-periods to be devoted to each was offered:

Unit 1. Background	5 to 8 lessons suggested
2. Europe in 1750	5- 8
3. French Revolution	10-12
4. Industrial Revolution	8-10
5. Labor Movement	8-10
6. Agricultural Revolution	2- 3
7. Development of Science	4- 6
8. Nationalism	8-10
9. Democracy	15-20
10. Imperialism	10-15
11. Development of Literature, etc.	3- 5
12. World War	10-15
13. Peace	10-12
14. Some Social Movements	6- 8
15. Summary	3- 5

This would give a minimum of 107 lessons and a maximum of 147, but "it is assumed that not all would use the maximum on all units, and (there would probably be left) ten lessons for review, on the basis of 150 lessons net (after deduction for holidays, etc.)." Since no provision has been made for allowing more time for this course than has customarily been given to the "standard" course in European History, it must be presented in two terms. The Committee, therefore, recommended that

"it would be desirable to finish through Democracy (Unit 9) in the first term. If one could not find time for Unit 9 in Term I, Unit 11 should be finished in its place."

PUTTING THE COURSE INTO PRACTICE

The spade work having been completed, the course was now ready for trial. There was no serious thought of making its adoption compulsory. The chairmen from several schools expressed emphatically their ideas that they doubted the value of some of the proposed units, and, more especially, that they were skeptical of the ability of many teachers to make this course a vital one and so to achieve the aims proposed for it, referred to, above. Others declared that, in the absence of a textbook especially conforming to the course, much of its content would probably remain incomplete in the plans of many teachers. On the other hand, some chairmen felt that the making of a textbook based upon this course and its being placed in the hands of the pupils would be unfortunate, since it would make the content of the course more a matter of memorization than of feeling, and thus tend to lead back to factual emphasis—the very thing for which we were criticized, before.

It was therefore unanimously agreed to "recommend" the course to the schools of the city, asking that it be taught in each school by at least one teacher, that it be taught for one year, and that the results be considered at the April, 1932, meeting of the chairmen. Each chairman was furnished with as many mimeographed copies as needed for his teachers.

Let us now take a look at the content of this course, as outlined above.

Unit 1—Background.

This consisted of 14 mimeographed pages of material, presented in paragraphs, which were to "be stencilled and given to pupils to put in their notebooks (or) forty or fifty copies might be placed in the library. The material is simply to be read, to give students some idea of the development upon which modern movements rest. The discussion of the first week would bring out only the chief ideas. When particular units are begun there might be a careful study of those parts of the Background which are necessary to begin the new topic."

Here we find a summary discussion of Primitive Man, the (Ancient) Near East, Greece, Rome and—occupying 11 of the 14 pages—the Characteristics of the Medieval Period, and the signs of its transition to the Modern Period. The chief Greek and Roman contributions to culture are very briefly considered. The economic structure of medieval society—the manor system and the guilds—is described and some illustrations given. The governmental and social ideas of those times are condensed

for the pupils. The religious unity of Europe is explained, and the state of its intellectual progress is described in the conventional manner. The breaking down of the feudal system is described, and various factors that contributed to it—e.g., the Commercial Revolution, the Protestant Revolt, new discoveries and inventions—are linked up with the rise of Capitalism. We next find stated four "earmarks of the beginnings of the modern era." These are:

- "1. Founding of absolute dynastic states;
2. The Commercial Revolution and the Expansion of Europe;
3. The Division of Western Christianity into several varieties . . . ;
4. A whole world of new intellectual interests and pursuits. . . ."

Finally, there are two paragraphs summarizing what fundamental changes have taken place in respect to each of these four developments, and reference is made to the rise and dangers of Nationalism.

Unit 2—Europe in 1750.

First, we have a list of the European states of that era, with brief characterization of each, e.g., "Holland—large trade and rich colonies." Political conditions are then discussed, England and France being taken as types of contrasted systems, limited monarchy vs. absolutism. Following this, economic conditions are treated under "Agriculture, Trade, and Manufacture." Next, social conditions of religion and class privileges are mentioned. The story and the significance of the development of science is begun here. Pioneers mentioned are Roger Bacon, Copernicus, Galileo, Napier, Leibnitz, Newton, Francis Bacon, Lavoisier and Boyle. Then, cultural material on the development of painting, literature and music during the eighteenth century is outlined, and, as a good option, the types of furniture developed in England are suggested for presentation. A distinct suggestion is offered that the relation of the types of art to the social life of those times ought to be brought out.

As to method, it is proposed that "Until this material"—on art—"is in the textbooks, this section might be mimeographed and . . . the topics might be assigned several weeks in advance and presented as oral reports by students who have special aptitudes along the lines treated."

Unit 3—The French Revolution (and Napoleon).

Only two sheets are devoted to outlining the important headings here. The remote and the immediate causes of the Revolution are named in orthodox fashion. Emphasis is then put on the reforms under the National Assembly and under the Convention. The Legislative Assembly is not named.

Details of France's wars are omitted. In connection with Napoleon, we are asked to teach his internal reforms, under six heads, his position in Europe, his struggle with England—including its reflection on the United States, his downfall and his position in history. The political phase is concluded with the work of the Congress of Vienna. Then again we have an outline of the literature, painting and music of those times.

Unit 4—The Industrial Revolution.

This consists of three sheets, followed by a sheet of "Suggestions" and another of bibliography. Both the original Industrial Revolution (of the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries) and the recent, or rather current "New Industrial Revolution" are treated. The movement is defined as "the application of machinery and power to manufacturing (factory system), agriculture, transportation and communication." Five general causes are specified, and five reasons presented as to why it began in England. Its development is traced, step by step, in short narrative sentences, from the invention by John Kay through that of the Diesel engine. The "Spread of the Revolution to Europe, Asia and the United States" is suggested for treatment, but not elaborated upon. Retarding factors are mentioned—among them, the existence of cheap labor right down to the present, in China and India. Ten results of this tremendous change are specified for treatment, including the chief bad effects, but with the conclusion that "in the long run, labor as a whole, is materially better off."

Among the "Suggestions" appended to this unit, we find that the aim of this treatment is to show how every phase of human activity has been completely altered, and that the process of change is still going on—the concept of a dynamic society. Inventions are to be taught as social products. The effect of the Revolution in leading to class consciousness and to political movements, such as Imperialism, is hinted at. Teachers are urged to "pay slight attention to background" and to "work out the results of the industrial revolution and not have pupils memorize them."

Unit 5—The Labor Movement.

This unit shows the influence of the active interest of some members of the committee in labor unionism and social legislation. Five sheets are devoted to outlining the topic, but, as we shall see, later, much of the material suggested is optional, and has since been considerably curtailed. First, we find summarized the situation in which laborers found themselves after the Industrial Revolution. Trade Unions in England are dealt with, especially the practices used against them and the decisions—e.g., the Taff Vale decision—that showed the power of the government effective against them. Factory

legislation and insurance legislation are carefully outlined. The work of the International Labor Organization is summarized. Nearly three sheets are devoted to the subject of Socialism. Its chief principles are stated, its leaders mentioned, the division into radical and conservative groups brought out, and "the growth of industrial democracy" is listed as a tendency toward Socialism. The Coöperative Movement is next presented, and, finally, Anarchism and Syndicalism are briefly explained.

We have now two sheets of "Suggestions," beginning with the statement "The object is to show how two vital movements—organized labor and

socialism—developed and the part they are playing in the evolution toward a juster society"—later changed to "in the world today." Ideas to be stressed include the gradual disappearance of competition, the futility of fighting the machine, and the growing importance of the coöperative movement. The suggestion is offered that, "in discussing social legislation, it is desirable to make a complete study of the subject in England or Germany because of its growing importance." Impartiality by the teacher, and freedom by the student, are insisted upon.

(To be continued)

Improvement Sheet for the Socialization of History

By DR. CARL G. F. FRANZEN

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The following Improvement Sheet for the Socialization of History has been the result of several years' experimentation and condensation of similar outlines produced by students in my class "The Supervision of High School Instruction" given at Indiana University. The tentative final form herewith presented was worked out by Mr. Sherman Crayton and Mr. Edgar A. O'Dell from about a score of improvement sheets which had been made under my supervision. I hope that the suggestions contained in this Improvement Sheet will prove of interest to all teachers of social studies.

It will be noted that the Improvement Sheet itself is preceded by a list of aims that might be used in the teaching of history. It has been the custom in the past to develop various technics of aims or objectives in the field. My own experience in supervision has led me to the conclusion that one of the most serious defects in our teaching today lies in the gap that exists between any objectives which the teacher may have in mind in the teaching of the subject and the actual classroom procedure adopted by the same teacher. It is almost impossible at times to recognize any relationship between the two.

The Improvement Sheet herewith submitted attempts to do away with this discrepancy. A list of objectives that are within the possibility of attainment has been prepared as a basis upon which the Improvement Sheet has been developed. Aims three and five are illustrated in item 7 under "Teacher activity" in section IV; item 13 under "Pupil activity" in section IV. Aims two and four

are illustrated in item 14 under "Pupil activity" in section IV. Aim one is illustrated in item 11 under "Pupil activity" in section IV.

Items in the Improvement Sheet which are preceded by an asterisk are explained in the Special Bibliography of section V. For example, there is an asterisk in front of item 3 under "Teacher activity" in section IV; the reference to the Bibliography would then be found as follows: IV, Teacher, 3.

The study of history should serve the practical end of developing both knowledge and judgment in the conduct of social and public life. The aim of history instruction is to develop social attitudes and to train students for life citizenship in a democracy. All authorities now recognize the great social value of history. The "socialized atmosphere" in history seems well adapted to all methods, whether topical study, big units, problems or projects, because of the social nature of the subject. In such a class students receive training in leadership, coöperation, initiative and civic habits. Certainly, every history discussion should be socialized in the sense that all pupils are given a chance to participate. This may be accomplished under teacher-leadership, or pupil-leadership, but undoubtedly, the old "question and answer" method, in which emphasis was on teacher-activity rather than on pupil-activity, is not the best plan for developing the social instincts of pupils. The socialized recitation is an attempt to direct instruction in the proper channels, with the pupils as the working center of the class.

It is hoped that the following improvement sheet is applicable to the teaching of history in general, and that it can be used with equal success in the various classes in history which are taught in the secondary schools.

IMPROVEMENT SHEET

This improvement sheet has five divisions: (I) A statement of the aims in the teaching of history; (II) the assignment; (III) the review; (IV) the treatment of the lesson; (V) bibliography.

I. AIMS IN THE TEACHING OF HISTORY

1. To prove the imperative needs of integrity of character in the development of good citizenship.
2. To show how physical environment may contribute to the development of a people.
3. To teach pupils that our present day conditions are the result of the cumulative experiences of mankind.
4. To encourage an active interest and participation in public affairs through a better understanding of the origin and growth of human institutions.
5. To emphasize the fact that the general trend of civilization has been progressive.

*II. THE ASSIGNMENT

Pupil Activity	Yes	No	Teacher Activity	Yes	No
1. Do the pupils take notes as the assignment is being made?	—	—	1. Is the assignment definite, i.e., were specific aims stated?	—	—
2. Do the pupils ask questions concerning the assignment?	—	—	*2. Are the blackboard and other devices used in making the assignment?	—	—
3. Do the pupils seem to be challenged by the assignment?	—	—	3. Are all the more difficult words and phrases explained?	—	—
4. Do some pupils volunteer to do extra work?	—	—	4. Are individual differences of the pupils considered by giving additional work to some?	—	—
*5. Do some pupils suggest additional material that might be used to supplement the assignment?	—	—	5. Is interesting supplementary reading material provided in an effort to make the history more interesting to the pupils?	—	—
6. Is it apparent that the pupil's curiosity is aroused?	—	—	6. Does the teacher emphasize historical facts in keeping with their importance?	—	—

III. THE REVIEW

Pupil Activity	Yes	No	Teacher Activity	Yes	No
1. Do the pupils conduct the review through class discussion and individual contribution?	—	—	1. Does the teacher remain in the background except when needed as a guide?	—	—
2. Do the pupils use the review to organize the fact knowledge of history?	—	—	2. Does the teacher use the review as a means of establishing continuity:	—	—
			a. In the development of a topic?	—	—
			b. Between the review and the advanced assignment?	—	—
3. Do the pupils show a knowledge of the main facts in the review?	—	—			
4. Do the pupils conduct the review independent of their notebooks?	—	—			

IV. THE NEW LESSON

Pupil Activity	Yes	No	Teacher Activity	Yes	No
1. Is the lesson conducted, for the most part, by the pupils?	—	—	1. Does the teacher act as the director of the class discussion?	—	—
2. Do the pupils address the class and not the teacher?	—	—	2. Does the teacher seem to have the attitude that the discussion period belongs to the pupils?	—	—
3. Do the pupils use the blackboard for:			*3. Does the teacher make use of:		
(1) Outlines	—	—	a. the blackboard for		
(2) Diagrams	—	—	(1) Outlines	—	—
(3) Sketch Maps	—	—	(2) Diagrams	—	—
(4) Graphs	—	—	(3) Sketch Maps	—	—
(5) Special Terms	—	—	(4) Graphs	—	—
(6) Summaries	—	—	(5) Special terms	—	—
			(6) Summaries	—	—
			b. Pictures	—	—
			c. Charts	—	—
			d. Maps	—	—
			e. Bulletin board	—	—
			f. Cartoons	—	—
			g. Radio	—	—
			h. Memorabilia	—	—
			i. Historical museum	—	—

Pupil Activity		Yes	No	Teacher Activity		Yes	No
4. Do the pupils contribute anything of historical interest:				4. Do the teacher's questions call for class discussion?			
a. to the bulletin board?							
b. to the museum?							
c. to be used as illustrative material during class discussion?							
5. Do the pupils link former material with the lesson at hand?				5. Does the teacher keep the topic clearly before the class?			
6. Does the discussion center around the topic under consideration?				6. Does the teacher show a knowledge of the individual differences of her pupils?			
7. Are pupils permitted to relate own experiences pertinent to the topic?				7. Does the teacher emphasize:			
				a. Causes and results?			
				b. Time and place?			
				c. Economic trends?			
				d. Class conflict?			
				e. Educational advancement?			
				f. Other progressive movements?			
8. Do the brighter pupils seem to carry the burden of the recitation?				8. Does the teacher direct the pupils to suitable supplementary material, such as:			
				a. Other reference books?			
				b. Newspaper and magazine articles?			
				c. Biographies?			
9. Do all pupils participate to some extent?				9. Does the teacher call for oral reports as a part of the discussion rather than as an isolated part of the lesson?			
10. Do the pupils refer to magazines, newspapers, etc.				10. Are oral reports sufficiently few to hold interest?			
*11. Do the pupils use biography as an approach to the movements of a period?				*11. Does the teacher modernize past events by linking them with history in the making?			
12. Are oral reports:				*12. Did the pupils keep			
a. Well organized?				a. Notebooks?			
b. Concise?				b. Scrapbooks?			
c. To the point?							
13. Do pupils offer comparisons of past with present events?							
*14. Do the pupils correlate history with:							
a. English through							
(1) Historical fiction?							
(2) Written reports?							
(3) Oral reports?							
(4) Historical poems?							
b. Geography through use of maps?							
c. Science through inventions and discoveries?							
d. Civics through study of government?							
e. Sociology through group relationships?							
f. Art through use of pictures, models, etc.?							
g. Music, historical songs, e.g., "John Brown's Body?"							
h. Manual Training, reproductions in miniature?							
i. Physiological and hygienic conditions in pioneer life?							
j. Mathematics, graphs?							

V. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Recent Happenings in the Social Studies

BY COMMITTEE ON CURRENT INFORMATION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

HOWARD E. WILSON, PH.D., *Harvard University*

COÖPERATIVE TEST SERVICE

The Coöperative test Service, organized under the auspices of the American Council on Education and with the aid of the Rockefeller Foundation, exists for the purpose of making available to high schools and colleges batteries of useful achievement tests in a wide variety of subjects. "The purpose of the Coöperative Test Service is definite and specific, namely, to provide a continuing supply of uniform, comparable, and valid achievement tests in those subjects regularly taught in the early college years and generally in the late high-school years: such a continuing supply of valid tests being conceived as absolutely essential for any sound development of personnel service, for many phases of educational research, and for any clear-sighted or sure-footed reform of high-school or collegiate administration and curriculums." The committee directly responsible for the work consists of H. E. Hawkes, V. A. C. Henmon, Agnes B. Leahy, M. R. Trabue, and Ben D. Wood. The work of the Service is described in "The Coöperative Test Service," by Max McConn in the *Journal of Higher Education* for May, 1931, and "The Coöperative Test Service" by Ben D. Wood in the *Educational Record* for July, 1931.

In December, 1932, the Test Service had ready for distribution two tests in the field of the social studies, *Coöperative American History Test* and *Coöperative Modern European History Test*, both by H. R. Anderson and E. F. Lindquist of the University of Iowa. Each test covers sixteen pages and requires ninety minutes. They are "general tests of chronology, historical personages, historical and geographical terms, and general historical information and understanding of events and causal relations." Sample copies of the tests are ten cents each; tables of norms are ten cents each; and scoring keys are fifteen cents each. In quantity orders the basic price of the tests is five cents per copy but there are liberal discounts on large orders. Address the Coöperative Test Service, 500 West 116th Street, New York City.

BUILDING FOR WORLD CITIZENSHIP

The *High School Teacher* for November, 1932, contains an article on "Building for World Citizenship through the Social Studies" by Virginia Lewis of Huntington, West Virginia. Emphasis is placed upon the responsibility of the social-studies teacher for the creation of an international state of mind—"An important task before the world today is the creation of a new state of mind, a state of mind which will permit an understanding and appreciation of the character, attainments, and traditions of other peoples, and which will transcend national boundaries without seeking to

destroy them." Miss Lewis adds, "There are several ideas which should be kept before the class constantly, (1) that truth is the only deadly foe of prejudice, (2) that other peoples are not "queer," only different, (3) that we should think of these peoples as our world associates, not as our rivals or proteges, and (4) that we depend upon the world and the world depends upon us."

The article concludes with a description of the work offered in Grades VII, VIII, and IX in West Virginia schools and with an excellent bibliography of organizations from which materials on world citizenship may be obtained, free or at moderate cost.

N.E.B.

In the December, 1932, issue of the *Journal of Geography* (Vol. XXXI, No. 9, pp. 381-390) Malcolm J. Proudfoot contributes an article on "The Use of Photographic Material in Teaching Elementary Geography." In summarizing the article, the author states, "Geography will be poorly taught wherever people do not realize: (1) That proper geographic teaching is based on a logical sequence of reasoned memorization of ever increasing conceptual difficulty. (2) That photographic source material is of basic character in geographic teaching in that it most objectively crystallizes the 'cultural-natural-adjustment-complexes' of the landscape of the regions studied. (3) That any use of photographs is valid which contributes to an understanding of the relation of people, and their way of making a living, to their natural environment. (4) That photographs form effectively the original interrogation point starting the problem-presentation method of geographic teaching. (5) That photographs may be used to raise effectively geographics problems, answer these problems, and finally as a means for testing the various conclusions of student understandings."

THE TEACHING UNIT

"Unit learning and teaching, properly understood and applied, is not a passing fad, but is in some form or another a necessary consequence of the modern democratic philosophy of education and the modern psychology of learning," writes W. J. Grinstead, of the University of Pennsylvania, in "The Unit of Learning: Its Meaning and Principles," in the *Educational Outlook* for November, 1932 (Vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 9-20). The author points out that it is the spirit of unit teaching which makes for good work and that mechanical and unenlightened acceptance of a unitized curriculum "threatens to nullify the very existence of it." The article is primarily concerned with the psychological foundations for unitary organization of the course of study; the author in particular stresses

pupil-activity and pupil-interest as aspects of "unit teaching." "The activities of the teacher in unit teaching are: (a) preparation, in the selection and formulation of a unit, the determination of objectives, and the planning of learning and teaching experiences; and (b) direction, in the motivation and economical guidance of learning activities, the measurement of outcomes, and their integration into complete and amplified mastery." The "chief pitfalls in unit teaching are: (a) substitution of logically organized blocks of subject-matter for real enterprises; (b) the neglect of motivation; (c) the neglect to criticize prescribed or traditional activities as to their contribution to the objectives of the unit; (d) the neglect to keep the purpose of each activity clear to the learners; (e) losing sight of individual natures and needs; and (f) failing to respect the initiative of the individual learners."

THE WRITTEN PREVIEW IN HISTORY CLASSES

Cecil M. Bennett, in a doctoral dissertation at the School of Education of New York University, 1932, reports an "Experiment Showing the Effectiveness of the Use of the Written Preview in Teaching History in Secondary Schools." The purpose of the experiment was "to determine the value of the written preview and its test in teaching history in high school; the preview is defined as giving "in concise form comprehensive statements of the leading events, thoughts, and movements of the material to be presented in more detail."

Two classes were chosen for the experiment in each of six schools. Each pair of classes was taught by one teacher, and the experiment covered two units of work. In the first unit one class used a mimeographed preview and the second class studied similar material without the preview; in the second unit two classes were reversed, the second using the preview and the first studying without it. Both groups were tested at the end of each unit with a battery of achievement tests dealing with historical information, and the results treated statistically. The author's general conclusions are as follows:

"There was no consistency in favor of the groups which used the written review and its test. . . . Neither was there any consistency in favor of the groups which did not use the written preview and its test. . . .

"As a general conclusion, the experimenter feels that results secured as shown by information tests indicate that the preview and its mastery technique does not justify the time consumed in using it as an aid to learning. A preview and its test, for a six-week period of history, would likely consume one to three recitation periods. The experimenter does not feel that the results of this experiment justify this use of the teachers' and pupils' time."

EVALUATING TEACHERS AND TEACHING

In an article, "Supervision: A Study in Coöperative Effort," in the *School Executives Magazine* for December, 1932 (Vol. LII, No. 4, pp. 131-133),

Worth McClure, superintendent of schools of Seattle, takes the position that "supervision is more and more to be regarded as leadership in coöperative study and organized effort in slowing problems." Supervision lies not so much in visiting classes as in releasing and directing the "creative abilities" of teachers. Superintendent McClure presents a "Teacher's Self-Evaluation Sheet" covering such matters as classroom management, teaching equipment, pupil reactions, and personal equipment, which will be useful to teachers and heads of departments of social studies as well as other subjects.

THE CLASSROOM PICTURE

The value of pictures as classroom tools for teaching is discussed in "The Classroom Picture" by Daniel C. Knowlton in the December issue of *Educational Screen* (Vol. XI, No. 10, pp. 296-298). The article includes two unusual pictures of Washington, the author pointing out that "pictures such as these, sound and artistic, supplemented by adequate notes and teaching suggestions, constitute a classroom tool of genuine value, almost indispensable to the alert teacher who would make history really live."

WASHINGTON'S MAP OF MOUNT VERNON

The University of Chicago Press has recently published for the Huntington Library of San Marino, California, a facsimile of Washington's map of Mount Vernon, with an introduction by Lawrence Martin, Chief of the Division of Maps of the Library of Congress. The original of the map is in the Huntington Library and was drawn by Washington in 1793. "It shows the whole estate of more than 8077 acres, and, in the case of four of the farms comprising 3260 acres, a table in the upper right-hand corner indicates the areas of the individual fields, meadows, clover lots, pastures, and orchards. The scale of the map is 1 inch to 100 poles, a pole being a rod or 16½ feet." The map is accurately and attractively reproduced, on heavy paper suitable for mounting. The cost is twenty-five cents, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois.

THE "HISTORY NUMBER" OF *Education*

The December, 1932, issue of *Education* (Vol. LII, No. 4), called the "History Number," is edited by Daniel C. Knowlton, of New York University. In "Why World History?" Edwin M. Pahlow emphasizes the importance of the development of world-mindedness and historical meanings or interpretations on the part of pupils. Carl Becker, in "Capitalizing History in the School," points out the necessity of giving pupils courses suited to their needs as average members of the community and stresses the need for good teachers of history well acquainted with the subject matter of their field. In "The Engineering of Problem Solving," Marion G. Clark presents a discussion of the activities of problem-solving as applied to the history classroom. In his article, "The Teaching of Controversial Subjects," William A. Hamm presents the thesis that "we

must indoctrinate for attitudes and habits, with a *method* rather than a *solution*. In "Of the Making of Maps There Is No End: A Protest," Walter A. Mathews, writing from the point of view of a parent, pleads for the "elimination of useless pointless auxiliary work unrelated to the heart of the subject studied." Otis E. Young contributes "The Need for a Reading Program in American History," in which he "has attempted to show the history teacher who deals with public-school pupils the necessity for a wider use of collateral reading based upon the findings of the newer psychology." In "The World War in Junior High School History Textbooks," W. Linwood Chase and Marie C. Cornforth present their findings from examination of eleven widely used history textbooks, based on (1) number

of words used in describing the World War before and after the entrance of the United States, (2) number of countries mentioned, (3) omissions, (4) number of geographical locations other than organized countries, (5) number of maps, (6) number of important characters connected with the World War, (7) number of events, (8) number of dates, and (9) character and number of pictures. In "The Value to the Adolescent of a Study of History," Robert Clark discusses the value of history when the following four conditions are considered and applied: (1) its humaneness, (2) its cultural attractiveness, (3) its possibility for promoting judgments, and (4) its moral value. The edition of the magazine as a whole is distinctly worth the attention of all history teachers.

Book Reviews

EDITED BY PROFESSORS HARRY J. CARMAN AND J. BARTLEY BREBNER, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Greater America. An Interpretation of Latin America in Relation to Anglo-Saxon America. By Wallace Thompson. E. P. Dutton and Co., New York, 1932. 275 pp. \$3.00.

Latin American Problems. Their Relation to our Investor's Billions. By Thomas F. Lee. Brewer, Warren and Putnam, New York, 1932. 339 pp. \$2.50.

The Republic of Brazil. A Survey of the Religious Situation. By Erasmo Braga and Kenneth G. Grubb. World Dominion Press, London, 1932. 184 pp. \$2.00.

Old Mother Mexico. By Harry Carr. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1931. 270 pp. \$3.00.

Little Mexico. By William Spratling, Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, New York, 1932. 198 pp. \$3.50.

Mr. Thompson has traveled widely in Hispanic America and has written many books and articles on the subject. But in this work he gives for the first time an over-view of the whole of Hispanic America which for the people who know very little about the region will constitute an introduction to Greater America. For the persons who are not unfamiliar with Hispanic America he hopes that the book will lead them to speculate upon "the dazzling and colorful future that lies before the southern two-thirds of the Western Hemisphere." The author has undoubtedly accomplished one purpose for he has indeed written an account which will be helpful to those who desire a brief and comprehensive introduction to the subject. But in his attempt to prove that the industrialization of Hispanic America by the United States will be of benefit to Greater America, he has not succeeded, even with all of his exuberant enthusiasm, for this noble goal toward which he sees Hispanic America heading cannot be attained simply by the United States supplying the industrial needs of the states below the Rio Grande. In developing his ideas the author proceeds to serve up selected samples of Hispanic American history, and social, economic, and political condi-

tions. But his methods are not those of an historian, rather they are those of a business man and an engineer who at times seems to forget that some of the economic ills of Hispanic America are due to the very things that he advocates. The volume, however, should not be too severely criticized, for it has its admirable points and it is extremely thought provoking.

The second book is more solid yet it covers almost the same ground and likewise aims to introduce Hispanic America to the people of the United States so that a closer economic relationship between the two peoples can be brought about. The author of this work is a banker and an engineer turned teacher, and he feels that he has a mission to perform for which few others are qualified. In consequence he has stressed the foreign loan problem, foreign trade, and the financial situation in general in Hispanic America. His contribution is therefore valuable but his book should be used in connection with those by Felsing, Winkler, Halsey, and Normano.

In the third volume religious problems are treated after the manner now become standard and habitual in the books published by the World Dominion group, which, as an organization is interested in the evangelization and spiritual progress of Hispanic America. Like most of the other volumes in the series the treatment is topical. The six chapters are entitled "The Land and the People," "General Background," "The Impact of Evangelical Christianity," "Life and Growth of the Evangelical Church," "Present Tendencies and the Unfinished Task," and "Conclusions and Recommendations." As in previous volumes the maps are well done and informative. Also, as in previous studies, the slow progress of mission establishments and native conversion are marked characteristics. This study should be of considerable value to those interested in foreign missions in Brazil.

The last two volumes here listed contain character sketches of Mexico and the Mexicans. The book by Mr. Carr, a Los Angeles column writer, is in reality

a travel account filled with a variety of information, while the volume by Mr. Spratling, an artist, architect, and author, is a mosaic of Mexican life illustrated by his own pleasing sketches. Both men have caught the Mexican spirit, but like Stuart Chase, the former more than the latter feels that Mexico is endangered by a Yankee invasion which will destroy all of its picturesque. A priori concepts are bad in any book, and they are decidedly out of place here.

A. CURTIS WILGUS

The George Washington University

Saint-Just: Apostle of the Terror. By Geoffrey Bruun. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1932. 168 pp. \$2.50.

"In the gallery of *arrivistes* who were swept into prominence by the French Revolution, there is no figure more sharply etched, and at the same time more enigmatic, than that of Louis Antoine de Saint-Just. He came to Paris in September, 1792, as a deputy of the National Convention. . . . Within ten months, at the age of twenty-five, he was a member of the Committee of Public Safety, one of those terrible decemvirs whose prodigious energy saved the Revolution. Within two years he was dead." (Introduction, 1.) Thus has Professor Bruun set the stage for that "apocalyptic" figure, that austere, merciless and implacable youth who has attracted so many; he has generally seemed a mysterious, shadowy individual; the emissary of the Incorruptible; the fiery brain and heart which hurled forth defiance against the enemies of the Mountain.

There are many excellent features of this little volume. There is good balance preserved by the author in tracing the amazingly successful career of the man who helped try the King of France, was prominent in the drafting of its first republican constitution and was a member of the all powerful Committee of Public Safety before Robespierre himself. He admits that Saint-Just may have been extremely intolerant, entirely lacking in a sense of humor, believing that he was speaking in a prophetic vein; but his career was remarkable for all that; in fact, it was largely his implacability and defiant stride through camp and legislative hall and committee room which give to his character the sharpness which makes it of interest.

Saint-Just was one of three children of a French cavalry captain, who had retired to manage the estate of the Seigneur de Morsain in Picardy. Louis Antoine, after an elementary education in the Oratorian College at Soissons, proved a difficult person for the good Madame Saint-Just, now a widow, to handle. She bent her entire energies for the succeeding months to the safe launching of her son upon a professional career. The latter had no mind to endure the dull and painful existence destined for a provincial notary, and shortly departed for Paris without agreeing to the plans of the family regarding his legal education. As the purse strings had been tightened to compel obedience on her son's part, he took with him a large portion of the family plate, which he intended to pledge for necessary expenses in the metropolis. For nearly a year the two were estranged, their relations being in no

wise assisted by the imprisonment of young Saint-Just, at his mother's insistence, for his theft of the silver. His only productive effort during his imprisonment, was a dull poem of some eight thousand lines, under the title of *Organt*. It was a typical piece of classical-sounding plagiarism from dozens of writers.

At length in September, 1787, Saint-Just registered at the School of Law at Rheims, gaining quickly his degree and license. But little else is known of his brief career as a law student, though it is certain that many other famous leaders were trained there, including Brissot, Danton, Couthon and Prieur de la Marne. But these were older men than he, and had already passed along to other scenes of activity. He became a country lawyer in his native village of Blérancourt, near Noyon, for the next years, striving in every way to gain recognition in his chosen field of politics, yet failing in every way, except to become acquainted with Desmoulins on a trip to Paris, and attracting momentary attention in the National Assembly in 1790 for his refutation of a pamphlet criticizing that body for its confiscation of the Church property. He might have gone as a member to the Assembly in 1791, but lacked nearly a year of being the requisite age. His real opportunity came of course in the meeting of the Convention, to which he was elected as a member for the Aisne, and immediately cast his lot with the Mountain, led thereto by his admiration for Desmoulins and Robespierre. His first prominence came from his fervid denunciation of the King on November 13, 1792, and again in late December, when the question of the King's fate was finally determined, his was a powerful and decisive voice for the death of "Tarquin." His violence in the latter days brought him the support of Marat and of a tremendous horde of the populace. This activity was succeeded by very aggressive and continual share in the debates concerning the army and the Constitution of the Year I. This latter helped to make him a member of the sub-committee of five added to the Committee of Public Safety in late May, 1793, to prepare quickly a constitution. Modelling their production upon the codes of Solon and Lycurgus, the document of one hundred twenty-four articles was submitted to the Convention, and forced through by June 24, 1793.

From this point on, the career of Saint-Just is better known, but no less interesting; how in the complete reorganization of the Committee, ten men, among them Couthon and Saint-Just, and later Robespierre, found at last an arena for their ambitions; how with Le Bas he became special representative with extraordinary powers to the Army of the Rhine, where their quick and decisive measures aided in restoring to a considerable degree the failing morale; how he was recalled to aid Robespierre in the factional strife which threatened to ruin the Revolution; how he collaborated in the elimination of Hébert, Danton and Héault-Séchéles, only to fall finally in July, 1794, at the hand of the Thermidorian coalition. It is a moving tale, this rapid rise to leadership and equally sudden fall, interestingly told by Professor Bruun, with bal-

ance, good historical judgment and unfailing sympathy. Of great value to the student is the list of manuscript and printed sources at the end.

C. R. HALL

Adelphi College

Jacobin and Junto. By Charles Warren. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1931. 324 pp. \$3.50.

In this age of polite and undifferentiated political "strife," when Mr. Hoover's strongest epithet is "faker" and Democratic editors go no further than claiming a "considerable perversion of the facts," a review of the intense rivalry of Federalist and Anti-federalist constitutes a distinct relief. Though libel may not be a virtue and calumny should morally be condemned, nevertheless the vituperations of the political partisans in the early days of the republic indicate a healthy and eager desire to secure the triumph of one set of principles over another, a desire sadly lacking in the current set-up. From the diary of Dr. Nathaniel Ames and from countless letters, newspapers, brochures, journals and judicial decisions, Charles Warren has constructed a detailed picture of this era of intense political hatred, when one's attitude toward Jacobin or "Fudderalist" shaped the entire pattern of life, even to the shops one patronized and the friends with whom one associated.

The historian of the American bar and of the United States Supreme Court has again overstepped the bounds of the reader's endurance by a too complete presentation of the material he has gathered. Repetition always destroys the essence of sensationalism. And the scurrility of the editors and politicians of 1795 and 1805 and 1815 was sensationalism incarnate. Just as daily recurrence in journals and letters of the day dulled the sensibilities of contemporaries to the point where filth and lies were dispassionately discounted as such, so the very volume of the calumnies recorded in this work inclines the reader to a disregard of the immense significance of such intense political antagonisms. Two of the most biting selections by men so prominent as the old spelling-master, Noah Webster, and the wealthy merchant, George Cabot, will well suffice to demonstrate the lengths to which even the leaders were wont to go.

"I believe such a pack of scoundrels as our Opposition and their creatures was never before collected into one country—indeed they are the refuse, the sweepings of the most depraved part of mankind." (Webster)

"Men of lost character and broken fortunes, disappointed office-seekers, rapacious men, idle profligates, and desperadoes of all descriptions were the natural members of their body. . . . Successful Jacobinism is the consummation of vice and tyranny, and therefore to be viewed as the greatest possible political evil; and it is justly to be feared because it is propagated by eloquence and sophistry, and is exhibited in the garb of virtue and of liberty, whose sacred names it profanely usurps." (Cabot)

The fine art of mud-slinging became an integral part of the political game; the intricacies of novel expres-

sions tested the ingenuity of the keenest minds. The famous Benjamin Austin, Republican termagant who was repeatedly accused of libel and whose son was killed by a Federalist lawyer whom Austin had slandered, epitomized the period in 1803 when he wrote in a pamphlet entitled *Constitutional Republicanism*:

"The history of the world cannot produce a parallel wherein the grossness of abuse and the malignity of temper have been carried to such an unbounded excess. The present Administrations have been attacked with a virulence which has nearly exceeded the ingenuity of grammarians to coin words adequate to its import. The whole vocabulary of the English language, expressive of the malignant passions, has within a few years been exhausted to defame the reputation of almost every Republican in the government."

Jacobin and Junto was based, according to the title page, on the diary of Dr. Nathaniel Ames, Dedham's foremost Jeffersonian. The bulk of the material in the volume, however, has fortunately been drawn from other sources. We say fortunately, because Dr. Ames was addicted to a peculiarly compact, staccato style which omitted articles, simple verbs and conjunctions at will. So the tenor of his thought was often lost in the complexities of his personal system of grammar. Mr. Warren has not left us to decipher the events of the time from the Ames entries. When he considered these particularly colorful, he injected them as an illustration of the prejudices and outlook of a dyed-in-the-wool partisan. The rest of the picture he himself recreated in an intelligent reportorial style, punctuated by slyly humorous editorial comment. Some of the diary included in the book might well have been omitted; certainly the items about Ames' youth at Harvard, his medical practice and marital affairs are superfluous and irrelevant to the topic under consideration.

When a party which stood for government by "the wise, the good and the able" opposed a party which stood for a democracy controlled by the masses, then politics was worthy of the name. If this book does nought else, it should convince sceptics that it is possible for men to grow heated over political problems more profound than choosing between Tweedledee and Tweedledum.

AUGUST B. GOLD

New York City

World History. By Carlton J. H. Hayes, Parker Thomas Moon, and John W. Wayland. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1932. xviii, 912 pp. \$2.20.

The seemingly increasing trend toward the study of world history has been productive of many textbooks, notable, perhaps, more for their number and orthodoxy than for their quality and originality. The work of Professors Hayes, Moon, and Wayland, however, is, for the most part, a pleasing exception, and evidences an appreciation of the needs of both student and teacher.

World History is designed for use in secondary schools, and, as its preface states, is not a new edi-

tion of the previous works of its authors, but a new book. Beginning with an attractive brief introduction on the value and unity of history, it traces carefully in the "topical" manner the evolution of society (including that of early America and the Far East) from the "Beginnings of Civilization" in Part I to "Modern Civilization on Trial" in Part XII, and concludes with an appeal for good citizenship. The simple and readable text is well reinforced with a profusion of suitable illustrations, and it is to be hoped that the utilitarian value of the maps (most of which are in color) may set an example to which other writers will respond. Additional desirable features of the book are an excellent index and, accompanying every chapter, most adaptable lists of "Study Helps," "Review Questions," "Select Bibliography," and "Reference Topics."

The volume's most obvious weakness appears to be a tendency to retain the orthodox factual and political approach, particularly in the chapter and division headings. This is all the more noticeable in view of the prevailing inclination to satisfy the historical needs of high school pupils in an enticing and provocative manner. The bibliographies, also, may be criticized since they are rather advanced, are not sufficiently critical, and include little non-historical literature or historical fiction.

Nevertheless, *World History* is probably the most comprehensive and useful book of its type to date, and might even be used to advantage in introductory college courses in the history of civilization—for which, unfortunately, good manuals are all too few.

JOHN HALL STEWART

Western Reserve University

The United States Since 1865. By Louis M. Hacker and Benjamin B. Kendrick. F. S. Crofts & Co., New York, 1932. xx, 775 pp. \$3.75.

This book under the joint authorship of Mr. Hacker of the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* and Professor Kendrick, formerly of Columbia University and now of the Women's College of the University of North Carolina and published under the editorship of Professor Dixon Ryan Fox, is distinctive in three respects. In the first place it is the longest one volume textbook which we have for the period since the Civil War; in the second place, it lays more emphasis upon the economic and social history than any similar volume, and finally, it is more receptive to the liberal, if not radical, school of interpreters of recent American history, than other textbooks. All of these distinctive features the reviewer heartily applauds. To give a well rounded picture of American life in less space would be extremely difficult. It certainly marks a distinct advance to find political history relegated to its proper position. This statement is made in no derogatory sense as to the excellent texts in this field which recognize the overwhelming significance of our economic development during this period. Hacker and Kendrick, it seems to the reviewer, have gone farther in this respect. Quite as important are the two excellent chapters on social history, chapters on "American

Life, Letters and Art, 1865-1900" and a similar chapter on the period since 1900. Any criticism of the apportionment of space would be in the direction of more attention to social history. In the present stage of history teaching the authors have probably reduced the political to an irreducible minimum, but we could stand more of the social development than is given here.

The most important contribution of the work in the textbook field is its point of view and its willingness to use facts and ideas upsetting to the smug complacency of many students and teachers. "If a textbook" says Professor Fox in the introduction, "should say nothing that could not be endorsed by every literate American, if it must interest itself with rehearsing only that orthodoxy that overlaps the corners of all individual opinion, in other words, if the teacher, the student, and the student's father must agree with every judgment, then this book cannot qualify as a textbook." But a college textbook must be more than a mere recital of facts; it must be interpretative and thought provoking. From this point of view Hacker and Kendrick is a textbook of the highest order. It is sophisticated and stimulating and should open the way to much spirited class discussion. Its handling of American foreign relations is particularly full and sound. That this book is well adapted to classes of juniors and seniors there can be no doubt. Whether it is too advanced and sophisticated for the first two years can be ascertained only in the acid test of the class room. The publisher has done his part in providing an attractive volume. The student, however, could well use more maps than the ten provided.

HAROLD U. FAULKNER

Smith College

A History of England, Vol. IV. By Hilaire Belloc. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1932. xii, 457 pp. \$4.00.

This volume of Mr. Belloc's history, subtitled the transformation of England and covering the years, 1525-1612, promised to be most interesting, and it can be said at once that Mr. Belloc has not failed us. He had desired, as he says in the preface, to treat the period from 1525 to 1688 in one volume since he considers the history of England between those years to have an essential unity, which he finds in the Reformation. His material, however, proved too bulky, and, therefore, he made his split in 1612 at the death of Robert Cecil, when the main religious work of the Reformation had been accomplished and signs were already portending the defeat of the monarchy "at the hands of the gentry."

Since he prefers "plain statement to discussion" in the body of his book Mr. Belloc also takes occasion in his preface to anticipate criticism on the score first of emphasizing greed as "the determining factor in the great religious change," secondly, of insisting on the slow process by which the new religion replaced the old, and, thirdly, of ascribing so great an influence to the Cecils, father and son. To all of which it may be

replied that Mr. Belloc is not nearly so unique as he would like to believe. He might, with a little inquiry, discover that not all historians are completely under the shadow of the protestant *geist* or devoid of some imagination and insight.

Mr. Belloc's method, of course, renders impossible any detailed analysis of the volume. Personalities not imponderables form the thread of his discourse, and, considering his preference for "plain statement," there is scarcely an episode related which might not be subjected to critical or qualifying comment. Although Mr. Belloc would probably resent the comparison, he has many points in common with Macaulay, especially in his incapacity to distinguish any qualities other than black or white. This has led logically to over-simplification, and with little research and less effort he has resolved the tangled web of sixteenth century history to a few scattered threads. If history were so simple and so susceptible to final statements as Mr. Belloc constantly implies, all that is necessary is to wait for his final volume and then write *finis* to English history. Fortunately, his chief effect is to indicate ever more clearly the impossibility of such a result.

Nevertheless so far as he himself is concerned Mr. Belloc has finally got at the root of the matter and in doing this he has the truth. Therefore, on large matters and on small he is able to correct Pollard and Gardiner. Likewise, he presents the "facts" about the Reformation and he tells us "what the gunpowder plot really was." The former was a misfortune, the latter a machiavellian manipulation of the government, that is, of Cecil, to discredit the Catholics. On personalities he is equally confident. Elizabeth, for example, is explained in terms of "lascivious impotence" (for which phrase he apologizes), Cromwell in terms of greed, and other notables in like manner. There are, however, two or three points in the volume that we may be grateful for. The book is interesting, it is not altogether provincial, and it contains some valid suggestions which have not yet gotten into all of the general treatments. But if one is desirous of discovering the history of sixteenth century England he must look elsewhere, for this volume is only another chapter of Mr. Belloc's autobiography and a catalogue of his likes and, more frequently, his dislikes.

CHARLES F. MULLETT

University of Missouri

The Boy George Washington. Aged 16: His Own Account of an Iroquois Indian Dance, 1748. By Albert Cook Myers. 12 mo. 79 pp. 13 illus. Philadelphia, Pa. Published by the author. \$3.00.

This is a small, but interesting book, which can be added to the many volumes published this year in commemoration of the bicentennial anniversary of the birth of Washington. It deals with a few of the early experiences of the youthful George Washington during his first surveying trip in 1748, on the estate of Lord Fairfax. The camping experiences of the youth, his stay at the home of the famous Indian trader and pioneer, Thomas Cresap, and the dance of the Iroquois Indians, are carefully portrayed. The book contains

many extracts from the first journal of Washington and from other sources, as well as some excellent illustrations.

A. C. B.

Pioneer Days in Arizona. By Frank C. Lockwood, Macmillan Company, New York, 1932. 387 pp. \$4.00.

Professor Lockwood's volume is a history of Arizona from the ancient times of the region to the admission of the state in 1912, throughout which period Arizona was experiencing "Pioneer Days." As is known, the most active years have been since the cession of the district to the United States in 1848. The presentation of the subject is topical although the first five chapters are chronological as well because the topics, with some overlapping, followed one another in the history of the area. The introduction, which tells of archaeological achievements, is followed by chapters about the Spanish explorers and priests, American hunters, trappers and soldiers, and the United States government expeditions of the 'fifties. These subjects and the prominent participants in the events are described briefly and from what seem to be reliable documentary sources. Until this point in the volume the subject has balance, organization, perspective, and an air of authenticity. No old actors of the events linger with their memories to clutter the record with doubtful and twisted anecdotes, and to convey some of their prejudices of earlier years to a local chronicler. After Chapter V, one begins to notice the absence of specific citations and of bibliographies which relate directly to the chapter subjects. The author in his preface writes: "In the various chapters I make frequent reference to my chief sources and in Chapter XV I give a list of books that are basic to an adequate study of early Arizona." This review is written by a reader who found the references to sources too infrequent. The explanation probably is that the book was written more for the general reading public than for scholars, which, in turn, suggests the resemblance of the general scheme of the book to the pattern of hundreds of state and local histories which have been produced in the country. Anecdotes and reminiscences, for which sources are not given, are tangled with short biographical paragraphs in the last ten chapters, whose titles aptly describe their contents: American Pioneer Settlers, The Beginnings of Civil Government, The Story of Apache Warfare in Arizona, Story of the Schools of Arizona, Crime and the Courts, Arizona Trails—Old and New, Towns and Cities, Newspapers, Books, and Libraries, and The Achievement of Statehood. Although the general pattern is the same, Professor Lockwood's book is more enjoyable reading than most one volume local histories for two reasons. First, he has exercised a competent craftsmanship in the fashioning of this particular type of history. Secondly, Arizona's history has been more colorful, romantic, and exciting, according to contemporary tastes, than has that of many other regions. The book also must be commended for the rounded picture which it paints of Arizona life. It

portrays most of the essential elements of community life as it has developed in the United States. Especially good are the descriptions of agriculture and of schools. The chapter about mines is a praiseworthy treatment of one of the most neglected subjects of American history—mining after the glamorous flush of the bonanza period. Some readers might hesitate to agree with the author's patent approval of the somewhat curious (to put it mildly) administration of justice by Charles H. Meyer, a justice of the peace during the territorial era of Arizona (pp. 263-264). This country has always had a most unfortunate number of persons without proper legal training whose dispensation of justice is frequently strange and absurd. Gravely they give decisions which could only be given by a man ignorant of the law and accompany their decisions with ludicrous observations which wondrously are accepted in the community as profound wisdom. Few localities in the United States have not experienced these grotesque members of the bench with their bizarre decisions and fantastic rulings. It might seem funny to some to read of Justice Meyer of Tucson with his law library of two books *Materia Medica* and *Fractured Bones*, and yet it could hardly have been funny to those who were brought before him in the belief that the law is an instrument of protection for accused persons as well as of punishment. Apparently the German Justice Meyer, with a "Weber and Fields" accent and manner, administered justice in an arbitrary fashion for what he deemed the good of the community. Professor Lockwood writes:

"However, at last, one pettifogging lawyer had the temerity to come before the Court with the demand that his client be given a trial by jury.

"My client objects to being tried by this Court on the ground of prejudice, and demands a trial by jury."

"Py a shury!" said the Judge. "Phwat is dat shury?"

"He insists that he be tried by his peers," was the reply.

"Oh he does, does he? Vell, I sentence him to two weeks in de shain-gang, and I sentence you to von week for disrespect of de Court. Now, how do like dat trial by shury?"

"And into the chain-gang they both went."

This travesty of justice might elicit from some a slight sympathy for the "pettifogging lawyer" and his client.

Professor Lockwood should give more evidence to support his unqualified assertion of the culpability of Wyatt Earp and his brothers. The matter is extremely controversial and any writer who takes the emphatic stand of Professor Lockwood should amplify his judgment with more facts. The general situation was one which has often been found in the United States. Public indignation in an especially lawless region compels the authorities to invite an outsider with a reputation for law-enforcement to suppress the intolerable lawlessness. The political machine which is controlled by the criminal element is forced by public clamor to lend a superficial aid to the drive against crime. Actually the politicians secretly hamper the men who are

struggling to enforce the law. The result is that a man with a reputation for energy, fearlessness and integrity finds his efforts constantly frustrated. He is harassed and misrepresented until the community generally begins to regard him with suspicion. Finally, he is completely discredited and even forced to flee as did Wyatt Earp. This generalization may not fit the particular experience of Earp in Tombstone but if it does not the facts should be adduced to prove it. His career elsewhere as a city marshal makes it hard to accept that in Tombstone he "was both a cold-blooded killer and a very suave and crafty dissimulator." (p. 283) Although skeptical outsiders hesitate to accept some of the author's judgments in the chapter "Crime and the Courts," they are doubtless most acceptable to the present generation of Arizona inhabitants.

SAMUEL MCKEE, JR.

Columbia University

Crime, Criminals and Criminal Justice. By Nathaniel F. Cantor. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1932. 470 pp. \$3.50.

Professor Cantor launches boldly into the scientific aspects of a problem usually shrouded in custom and human apathy. Only occasionally does public indignation flare up, resulting from the commission of a particularly heinous crime or series of crimes. But the author tries to assume the detached attitude of scientific research. He surveys the entire field of criminology, considering the possibility of inherited criminal traits as well as the problems of adjustment of an ex-convict to a normal place once more in society. A new field of thought is in the process of development, and this book is admirably suited as a tentative outline indicating the general direction in which such thought should proceed.

It is an innovation, not only regarding the broad field it attempts to cover, but in stressing investigation of phases hitherto ignored or accepted as entirely satisfactory. The usual emphasis of criminologists has been placed upon the sociological aspect, but Professor Cantor points out in addition the very serious problem of administration of criminal justice under present court procedure. Undoubtedly our criminal courts need drastic reorganization if they are to be able to serve the new enlightened concepts calling for criminal rehabilitation rather than retributive punishment. Until such reorganization can be effected, however, the author is willing that our energies be devoted also to the improvement of the present system.

In all of the problems considered, there is maintained the scientific attitude of suspended judgment in the case of absence of sufficient data. In fact, for the casual reader, the lack of definite conclusions may detract somewhat from his interest in the book, but it serves to emphasize the immaturity of this field. For example, it stresses that the "causes" of crime are unknown, although there are a plentiful number of "wise guesses." Also there are no "laws" or criminology, but the term "tendencies" better indicates the present knowledge of the field. Crime is undoubtedly due to a person's health, temperament, economic condition and other factors,

but the research social scientist has yet to discover the relative value of each.

The book is divided into five parts entitled "Perspectives, The Making of the Criminal Mind, The Administration of Criminal Justice, Penology," and "Techniques." There is also a very interesting appendix on the penal system of the Soviet Union. The generous use of footnotes provides further information in addition to making other sources available. The value of the book is enhanced further by two indices, one upon subject-matter and the other upon names of individuals to whom references are made.

For the person wishing to gain a wide perspective of the field, I think this is at present the only available treatise. It is also a very acceptable foundation for those who wish to continue into more specialized branches of the field. Many of the conclusions of the author will be open to question, and probably some will be proven invalid. For example the final conclusion should at least give rise to extended consideration and discussion. The substance of it is contained in the statement, "It seems to us that nothing short of a fundamental reorganization of our economic organization of society will materially lessen crime."

ELWYN MAUCK

New York City

A Unit History of the United States. By W. A. Hamm, H. E. Bourne, and E. J. Benton. D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1932. x, 845 pp., xlv. \$2.12.

This textbook was prepared for high school teachers as well as for high school pupils. It is "based upon Bourne and Benton's *American History*" (Preface, iii.) The chapters of the new book are grouped in thirteen "Units" and tested project material is given for each "Unit." The book is well proportioned. The "Units" are not simply equal portions of the text, for they vary in length from fourteen to a hundred pages. Each "Unit" comprises the description and analysis of a period or a movement throughout which there is some sort of unity. In general, however, the "Units" become progressively longer as the narrative approaches our own times, especially after the Civil War. Chapters are divided into sections, sections into sub-sections, and frequently even the latter are subdivided.

The book is strictly a history of the United States. The history of the early colonies and of events leading to the War of Independence occupies but ninety pages. There are but scant references to exploration as justification for the original settlements. In the main text Columbus, Cortez, Cartier, Coronado, De Soto, and Pizarro are barely mentioned, although these explorers and Cabot, Cabral, Magellan, Champlain, Drake, Raleigh, Marquette, Joliet, and La Salle are briefly discussed in a portion of the Appendix. Early colonization is merely sketched in a dozen pages. Five-sixths of the book is devoted to the years since the close of the Revolutionary War.

A commendable feature of the book is the scant space given to military events. For example, ten pages sketch the military events of the Revolutionary War,

and thirteen pages those of the Civil War. That is, social and economic causes, results, and significance are given due consideration. Human motives are emphasized. And periods of peace and progress monopolize the major portion of the text. Much of social and economic history is woven into the narrative.

These phases of history since the Civil War are especially emphasized and brought down to date. For example (p. 472): "The depression of 1929-1932 was world wide in its causes and its scope." The paramount interests displayed by the book may be indicated by the following titles: Chapter XXXI, "Economic Adjustment North and South," Chapter XXXIII, "Economic Revolution" (very good), Chapter XXXIV, "Big Business," Chapter XXXV, "Labor Problems," Chapter XXXVI, "Social and Intellectual Changes," Chapter XXXVIII, "The Problems of the Farmers," Chapter XLVI, "New Agencies of Political Control," and Chapter LV (the last), "Problems of Our Own Time." Other materials comprising a large part of the contents of older textbooks have been condensed to the lowest possible degree.

The style of the book is well adapted to the capacities of high school pupils. Only an occasional involved sentence or one with terms beyond the understanding of young people appears in the narrative to interfere with directness and simplicity. Moreover, the publishers have provided large type on a good grade of snow-white paper. And a five-page bibliography forms a part of the Appendix.

ERWIN J. URCH

Senior High School,
University City, Missouri

Teaching the Social Studies. By Della Goode Fancier and Claude C. Crawford. C. C. Crawford, Los Angeles, 1932, 376 pp. \$2.

This volume contains nine chapters, treating historical development, aims, course content, techniques, equipment, correlation, extra-curricular activities, tests, and the teacher. Each chapter consists of a brief introductory statement, numerous citations and liberal quotations from the literature on teaching the social studies, a summary, a true-false test, and references. The authors have apparently expended a great deal of energy and have taken great pains to cite materials on the teaching of the social studies. No attempt is made to treat extensively any topic or phase, but the main outlines are indicated and the path to more detailed accounts is pointed out.

Dean Lester B. Rogers in the page and a half introduction observes that "Purposes quite remote from the experiences and interests of the learner have usually dominated the selection and organization of these instructional materials." He says that "a definite movement is under way" to remedy this fault. Presumably this volume is designed to promote this more vital selection of material in the social studies. In the preface the authors say that "All the social studies are treated." They probably mean all of those which are generally taught in the schools. They insist that the volume "is an education book rather than a social

science book." Probably few writers in the social sciences will take issue with them on this point.

The title is perhaps misleading. It seems to the reviewer that it should be entitled "An Annotated Guide to Recent Materials on the Teaching of the Social Studies." It is a compilation of quotations and citations rather than a contribution. This fact does not lessen its value and usefulness, perhaps, but it does deserve mention in order to acquaint prospective readers with the true nature of the book.

The authors apparently believe that most of the worthwhile contributions on the teaching of the social studies have been made recently, mostly within the last decade. It may be significant that the longest chapter, longest by about thirty pages, is devoted to "Social Studies Laboratory." In contrast with this neglect of older work, it is interesting to note that scarcely any mention is made of the work of the commission of the American Historical Association which is now, after nearly four years of work, beginning to issue its reports.

In spite of these possible defects the reviewer believes that the volume is highly useful for ferreting out materials which might otherwise be overlooked. Some of his students have found it worth buying for the guidance it affords them in locating materials for use in the preparation of term papers. If he were asked to turn in a list of objectives, to summarize the unit plan, or to rehash the various reports and was given ten minutes in which to prepare, he would reach for Fancier and Crawford.

EDGAR B. WESLEY

University of Minnesota

Nationalism and Education in Modern China. By Cyrus H. Peake. Columbia University Press. New York, 1932. xiv, 240 pp. Price \$3.00.

During the year 1928-1929 Mr. Peake, lecturer in Chinese in Columbia University, was in China as Cutting Travelling Fellow. His main object was the gathering of materials on, and the study of, the official educational system of the country.

Chronologically the material in this study covers the period 1860-1930. The author's thesis as stated in his introduction is "that the dominant motive and aim of those Chinese, who have been responsible for the introduction of modern education into China in the course of the past seventy years, was to build a strong nation resting on military power and capable of existing in a world of warring nations. . . . All other aims that normally accompany the conception of universal, democratic and compulsory education such as the removal of illiteracy, the strengthening of the economic power of the individual and of society were subservient and secondary." Despite the inclusiveness of the title chosen, the author concentrates upon the history and analysis of the system of education fostered by governmental agencies only; merely passing references are made to the by no means unimportant "schools conducted by Christians, Mohammedans and Buddhists [and] the old-fashioned Confucian type of school" and private institutions of non-religious char-

acter. The result is a quite incomplete work as far as nationalism and education as a whole in modern China are concerned. As an analysis of governmental policy and system, without undue regard to their results, however, the study is of real value.

While Western knowledge was surely but slowly making progress in China between 1860 and 1895, chiefly through missionaries and a limited number of Chinese returned students, there was not at the time of the Sino-Japanese War an effective modern educational system. Between 1895 and 1911 the old classical system of Chinese education, based mainly on Confucian thought, was overthrown and the beginning of an attempt to substitute "nationalism" and "Western learning" was made. The overthrow of the monarchy and the bringing in of other types of government during the past twenty-one years has resulted, generally speaking, in the continuance of the theory, and its application when possible, that education shall be systematized in such a manner as to arouse a spirit of nationalism among the people and gain support for their militarization to the end that the country shall be "saved." Of particular interest is the analysis of educational aims evolved during the period since 1925. In the light of the charges being made contemporaneously by the Japanese regarding anti-foreign (and especially anti-Japanese) propaganda in Chinese text-books Mr. Peake's objective study is of more than ordinary significance.

HARLEY FARNSWORTH MACNAIR

University of Chicago

The Pendulum of Progress. by Sir George Young. Yale University Press, London, 1931. \$3.00.

Does History Repeat Itself? By R. F. McWilliams, K. C. J. M. Dent and Sons, Toronto, 1932. \$.75.

Perhaps it is premature on the basis of these two slim books to argue that we are entering an era when the philosophy of history will once more be attempted and tolerated, if not honored; whether or no, it remains that these two works by two well-informed and fluent Englishmen represent a definite effort to do more than recount events and indicate their *post hoc* relation which we call historical causation. Sir George Young endeavors to analyse what has happened in Europe and the United States since the war, with a view to forecasting the immediate future. His object is not to reap the reward of a prophet, but to pierce the fog ahead of us at least a few feet.

His device to show the permanence with variations of political and economic movements is the use of diagrams reminiscent both of symbolic logic and of astronomical charts. The impression of the latter is reinforced by the use of astronomical similes in the text, which, taken with the diagrams, clearly suggest what audience the book is meant for: statesmen and historians. The diagrammatic notion is new only in its re-application: one is reminded of the medieval cosmogonies, which were also maps of principles, powers, and ideas; or one immediately thinks of the orbicular frontispiece to the *Anatomy of Melancholy*. Pedagogically speaking the device seems justified by

the fact that in an age of limitless complexity arising from world-consciousness and quasi-democracy, graphic methods of charting the course of contemporary events—be they political or artistic, technical or economic—are necessary. The habit of writing one sentence after another destroys the simultaneity of life by making it a succession of statements, of which the order is left to the arbitrary choice of the writer. But of course, any new method for reproducing in part the perceived relations of ideas, movements, events has at the outset the disadvantage of being an experiment. So while we may do honor to Sir George Young's "originality" and ingenuity, we must point out where his practice falls short of his excellent theory.

In the first place, his graphs are too small; and the size of the page being unsuitable to the scheme, it suffers, or rather makes the student suffer, from illegible script or type. Secondly, the directions in the text for using the graphs—revolving circle within circle, or pivoting progressive movements about definite points—call for detachable graphs that could be handled by the student, with his eye on the text, no matter how many pages he had to continue reading before the end of the demonstration. In other words, if the charts are to stimulate visualization, let us see and not once more have to make-believe that we see by looking at a static design and keeping a thumb six pages farther on.

Now, as to the content. Sir George believes and demonstrates his belief in the eventual collectivization of society, either by political or by economic means. His facts are splendidly arrayed, and, even more important, they are facts which have gone through the alembic of thoughtful contemplation of the daily scene: they are not the result of paste-and-scissors work on the body of the *London Times*, but of understanding below the surface of treaties, manifestoes, putsches, financial news, or by-elections. It is fair to say, then, that Sir George has analytical as well as synthetic power, and the combination defines the ideal historian. The one intellectual flaw in his system seems to be the attaching of too much importance to political terminology. So anxious is the author to avoid inadequate generalities that he seems lost—politically—in particularities. For him Coalitionism, Fascism, Semi-Organized Capitalism, etc., are usable terms, which, however, he takes at the face value suggested by their respective proponents. So that, whereas in the realm of fact he is willing to read between the lines, in the realm of form he accepts what are overlapping or inexact qualifications. The net result is visible in his general conclusion that the present-day world will some day reach collectivism, *either politically or economically*. To many informed readers the adverb "politically" in the previous sentence is utterly void of meaning, since for them collectivism means economic action, and since political action is the antithesis of economic organization.

Thus, after a brilliant and thought-stirring exposition and organization of recent history, Sir George leaves us in the old dilemma raised by Plato, whether

in truth in "a consultation respecting political good, which ought to depend entirely on justice and temperance, it is very proper to allow every man to speak."

Though the author of *Does History Repeat Itself?* also seeks to find out by historical methods what is going to happen to us, he employs a body of facts markedly different from Sir George's, dealing with them, however, in a way equally "synchronous and simultaneous." Mr. McWilliams compares the period following the treaty of Versailles with the period following the Congress of Vienna, and after a brief description in ordinary prose of the chief events—political, economic, and intellectual—of each period, he gives us in two parallel columns the principal points of similarity and difference, allowing for an absolute difference in terminology, population, and scale of world activity.

The results of comparison between the corresponding periods of thirteen years suggest to Mr. McWilliams a forecast of the next twenty, in which we get—note the difference with Sir George Young's faith in politico-economic adjustment—increasing economic nationalism, American isolation, the break up of the League of Nations after twenty-five years, world-revolution in 1952, the supersession of Italian Regemony for French in occidental Europe, and generally hard times for the mass of the world population to whom the former events are as distant thunder compared with the crushing problem of earning a livelihood.

After this sobering prophecy, Mr. McWilliams answers the question, "Can it be avoided?" The reply necessarily begins with an IF, and of large proportions. The IF sets as conditions an "economic, not a political United States of Europe," and the coöperation of the United States in righting the economic topsyturvy of the world. With a solicitude at once tender and naïve Mr. McWilliams excepts England, in his forecast, from the sweep of revolution in 1952 on account of "practical reforms which will have forestalled agitation." It is difficult to reconcile this wisdom with England's continued blocking of an economic United States of Europe. It is even more difficult to imagine a United States of America feeling sufficient solidarity with the rest of the world, or taking sufficient thought, to realize that in the present state of affairs, helping others is the only path to self-help and indeed to self-preservation. The conditional hope of recovery seems therefore as reasonable as if it were grounded upon the universal sprouting of wings from men's backs, as in *Iolanthe*. Until that event, it is consoling to read such books as those under discussion, in which the mystery of partial awareness triumphs again over a monotonous determinism.

JACQUES BARZUN

Columbia University

Sieyes: His Life and His Nationalism. By Glyndon G. Van Deusen. New York, The Columbia University Press, 1932. 170 pp. \$3.00.

Doctor Van Deusen has done a real service to scholarship in this brief but carefully written and

well-documented volume. The importance of Sieyes in the entire revolutionary period few informed students will doubt. As a profound student of the leading minds of the eighteenth century, as a vigorous and effective pamphleteer against privilege and inequality, as an important and frequently dominant member of the Convention and the Council of the Five Hundred, as a Director and Consul of France, and as minister to Holland and Prussia, his contribution to French political activities from 1789 through the Consulate was very large indeed.

His services as a French statesman seem to have been mainly: his influence in the forming of the National Assembly upon the basic Third Estate; his labors on the Committee on the Constitution in the Constituent Assembly and his fathering of the departmental system; his strong leadership, after avoiding with great difficulty denunciation during the Terror, in bringing in the constitutional reaction of 1795; his partial conduct [as a member of the Committee of Public Safety during most of 1795] of the foreign policy of the Republic; his assistance in negotiating the Treaty of 1795 with Holland and that with Spain in the same year; his large share in the coup which reorganized the Directory in his favor, in June, 1799; and finally his important part in the events of the 18-19 Brumaire, which overthrew the status of 1795 and brought in the Consulate. His activity was amazing and the number of his political successes many; his defeats were occasional but very important; his opposition to the suppression of the tithes brought him great unpopularity and threatened for a time to end his career; he was unable also to win an alliance with Prussia during his mission there in 1798; while Bonaparte's rejection of important legislative functions which Sieyes thought should adhere to the Tribunal and the Conservative Senate, in the proposed Constitution of the Year VIII, led to a centralization of power in the hands of the First Consul, and spelled the political death of Sieyes.

Of some of the rather obvious defects of Sieyes' character and temperament the author is well aware; he was dictatorial and egotistic, complacent and self-confident to an extreme degree. He was also somewhat too trustful of the efficacy of constitutions and was an energetic composer of them; his elaborate first draft of the Constitution of the Consulate, was, according to Professor Gottschalk (*Era of the French Revolution*, 316-17) a fantastic scheme for which he had drawn upon the seventeenth century and Spinoza for inspiration, and was quite easily converted by General Bonaparte into an instrument of despotism.

To determine the exact place of a man like Sieyes among great statesmen is a very difficult business. Certainly he ranks with Talleyrand and Fouché as an extremely adroit politician, a degree more sincere than either, but perhaps as ambitious as they. He loved too, to make epigrams and to speak in an oracular manner. He seemed to possess some courage, at least in his earlier days, when he fought with the Third Estate and when he risked unpopularity by opposing the abolition of the tithes. But his outspoken utterances

soon died; he wrapped himself on occasion in a cloak of silence and caution which we do not expect to see in a statesman of the highest calibre; so that we look in vain for Sieyes' leadership in the tense days following the flight of the King to Varennes. His relationship to the Girondist party, thought admittedly close, was so doubtful and so carefully guarded, as to lead him unscathed through the Terror, though he was known to be a moderate and widely suspected of being a royalist. And though we may excuse much on the basis of self-preservation, these considerations lead one to inquire whether he were not a bit more concerned for his safety and his schemes of the future than for the wise guidance of a torn country, at its most critical period.

However, enough remains of his ability and importance to make the achievement of Doctor Van Deusen a worthwhile one. The chapter on Sieyes as a nationalist provides a new point of view and is convincing. An analytical table of contents assists the reader and helps to assuage the effect of the rather sparse index at the end.

C. R. HALL

Adelphia College

The Italian Reformers, 1534-1564. By Frederic C. Church. Columbia University Press. New York, 1932. xiv, 428 pp. \$5.00.

The subject of Professor Church's book, the part played by Italians in the Protestant Reformation during the eventful years between 1534 and 1564, is one that has been largely neglected by the historians of the sixteenth century. The Reformation as it finally came in Italy was a Catholic Reformation, and it is to the Catholic or Counter-reform during these years that most attention has naturally been given. The study of the Protestant Italian Reformation, too, presents unusual problems of organization. It is difficult to trace any central *leit motif* in a movement, the exponents of which were mostly exiles scattered throughout the conflicting Protestant countries of the North; and that difficulty is intensified by the somewhat ambiguous attitude toward the religion of their hosts of many of these exiles for conscience's sake. Nevertheless, the Italian refugees were influential in their various ways, and Professor Church has made a valuable contribution to the history of the period through his careful study of their activity.

Year by year, he traces the careers of such men as Bernardino Ochino, the reformed Capuchin general, his friend Piermartire Vermigli, Celio Secondo Curione, the famous scholar and teacher, the distinguished jurist Garibaldi, the diplomat Vincenzo Maggi, Lelio Sozini of the restless curiosity, and that ubiquitous stormy petrel of the reform, Pierpaolo Vergerio, sometime Bishop of Capodistria. With them the reader meets the leaders of the Reformation in Switzerland and the neighboring countries, Calvin, Beza, Bullinger, Butzer, Melancthon, Myconius, and, most frequently, the kindly jurist of Basel, Boniface Amerbach, who used the money left by Erasmus' will to such good purpose in giving aid and comfort to the refugees.

The political background is furnished by the intricate machinations of Habsburg and Valois, and inseparably bound up with them the growing power of Calvinism and the steady progress of the Counter-Reformation.

As is natural for a scholar who early came under the influence of George Lincoln Burr, Professor Church is interested in the history of persecution and in such elements of tolerance as appear in this age of heated dogmatic passions. The defense of toleration by Castellio and others of the Italian exiles, arising from the controversy over the execution of Servetus, is given proper emphasis. There is also much valuable and detailed information concerning the activity of the Roman Inquisition and the development of the *Index librorum prohibitorum*.

This book is, indeed, to use a much worn metaphor, a mine of information—perhaps too literally so, for the reader is often obliged to do his own mining. Valuable as is the biographical material presented, the reader may feel that the quantity of detailed information, sometimes slightly irrelevant to the main theme, together with the chronological method employed in carrying forward the careers of all the characters simultaneously, impedes rather than aids him in forming a clear picture of the whole movement. But perhaps it is unfair to criticize the author for not giving greater cohesion and unity to the history of a movement which possessed in itself so little of those desirable attributes. It is more to the point to note that much of the information is based on unpublished sources and is not readily available elsewhere. The publication of *The Italian Reformers* is an important event to any student of religion in the sixteenth century.

W. K. FERGUSON

New York University

Oliver's Secretary. By Dora Neill Raymond. Milton, Balch, New York, 1932. xiv, 341 pp. \$3.50.

The sub-title of this book is *John Milton in an Era of Revolt* and in general that is more correct than the title, for it is not until chapter xi (p. 133) that Milton takes up his secretarial duties and he has been relieved of them by page 201. Moreover, the relations between Milton and Cromwell were not friendly or intimate. Actually the book sets the author's interpretations in an ingenious summary of the best scholarship concerning Milton, with greatest emphasis on his public spirit. It might better have been called *The Patriot Milton*, to paraphrase Bolingbroke.

The usefulness of the book seems likely to be dual. In spite of its brevity, it is a very convenient and remarkably comprehensive biography, whose critical apparatus provides a good guide to special scholarship. It also provides an illuminating commentary upon the confusing English and European political scenes as seen and experimented in by a patriotic poet who had political opinions and gradually learned how to express them effectively. Its chief defect is that its composition is ingenious rather than fluent. Too much has been crowded in and one has the feeling of a mosaic worker

whose preoccupation with the niceties of secondary design prevents her from being aware that the main design is being obscured. This is particularly noticeable when Milton's writings are summarized, or when the changing background is worked up. Certainly a book on this subject was eminently justified, but readers of this one must often conduct for themselves the selective process prior to drawing general conclusions. They will, however, carry away with them many vivid well-written vignettes of the English setting for Milton's political and poetical career. The author has read and drawn upon an immense amount of historical information. The pudding is, in fact, to full of varied fruits and spices to allow its own flavour to come out.

A valuable attribute of the book is the refusal of the author to be drawn into wholesale commendation of Milton. His behaviour as well as his writings are always regarded with a critical eye and it is very helpful to have his compromises, temporizings and outright weaknesses given enough attention to qualify appropriately his courage, idealism and intellectual honesty. Examples would be his reliance upon mere thundering, often bawdy invective or his use in the reply to Salmasius of the charge that Buckingham and Charles I connived in the murder of King James. Examples of specious argument, expediency and inconsistency are frequent. These things add great weight to the poetical triumphs which followed the Restoration. Milton, "all passion spent," then rose to the fruition of his genius. Chapter XX is a closely argued discussion of the influence of Milton's political experience upon *Paradise Lost*. Much of it is highly persuasive, but it can always be urged that the Milton of *Paradise Lost* was the Milton whose poetic genius was denied free expression by his political efforts rather than that the political experience moulded the later poetical expression. Professor Raymond steers something of a middle course. B.

Europe in the Middle Ages. By Warren O. Ault. D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1932. vii, 633 pp. \$3.48.

"This volume was written for the undergraduate read (*Preface*, iii). It comprises both usual and original selections from available materials, considerably condensed and effectively simplified. The subject-matter is factual, more informative than interpretative. The narrative does not greatly stir the imagination, and yet it easily holds attention. Personalities fit into this history of institutions and movements as incidental parts of the whole and seldom manipulate forces and circumstances to their own advantage. The style is terse and clear.

The organization of the book contributes quite as much to clarity and ready understanding as the style of the author. An introductory chapter on "The Land and the People" is followed by one on "The Greek Heritage" and another on "The Greatness and Decline of Rome." The next three chapters with familiar titles indicate a gradual transition from Roman to German domination of the West, and Chapter XXXIV on "The Renaissance," limited to origins in Italy and failing to

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include discussion of science and literature, brings the narrative to a close. Other chapters are uniformly good, although at some points the subject-matter, especially in Chapters IV, X, XII, XVII, and XXII, is too much attenuated into needless meagerness. Throughout his work the author has displayed originality both in arrangement and presentation, and has thus given new meanings to familiar chapter-titles. Appropriate sub-titles within each chapter are conveniently placed midway across the page. The context frequently reveals the author's familiarity with the original materials.

Other scholars will doubtless challenge the truth of the statement (p. 22) that "the principal achievement of the Roman Empire was the extension of Hellenistic civilization northward to the line of the Rhine and the Danube and westward through Spain and Gaul to far-off Britain." Nor does this seem to coincide with the indisputable assertion (p. 29) that "Rome's greatest original contribution, undoubtedly, was in the field of law and politics." And certainly Cicero and others like him were exceptions to the rule (p. 25) that "no citizen could be a candidate for public office until he had served in ten campaigns." The Council of Nicaea was in 325 A.D., not "in 352 A.D." (p. 42). Mention of the "Novels" should have been included in the discussion of "The Justinian Code" (pp. 102-104). The treatment of the divisions in the Carolingian Empire (pp. 160-164) is hardly adequate in view of the contributions of J. W. Thompson, whose works are frequently cited in footnotes. The flight of Mohammed from Mecca to Medina was not "in 627" (p. 181) but in 622. The adoption of the three-field system in place of the earlier two-field system increased "the acreage of arable land available for production of food" by one-sixth, not "by one-third" (p. 213). There are other such infelicities of statement, but the general excellence of the book goes far to atone for these.

Bibliographies, appended to the various chapters, are meagre but fairly well selected. "The student will find a competent guide to further reading in his instructor" (*Preface*, iii). A few errors in authors' names should have been detected in the proofreading, such as "F. Tenney" (p. 35) for Tenney Frank, "C. C. Merow" (p. 77) for C. C. Mierow, and "F. H. Gasquet" (p. 122) for F. A. Gasquet. The usual but often useless "Suggestions for Teachers," or the like, are omitted. A serviceable index covers twenty pages.

ERWIN J. URCH

Senior High School,
University City, Mo.

The Geography of the Mediterranean Region. Its Relation to Ancient History. By Ellen Churchill Semple. Henry Holt & Company, New York, 1932. 737 pp. \$4.00.

This book should be welcomed by all students who desire to find between two covers a comprehensive treatment of the geographical factors that have gone into the making of Mediterranean civilization. The literary material is drawn largely from ancient sources

and the evidence set forth is of peculiar interest to all concerned with classical antiquity. Many of the basic geographical conditions have remained unchanged, however, so that the work is valuable for the student of European and Near Eastern history in all ages.

The first part of the book is devoted to the physiographic history of the Mediterranean basin, followed by a technical discussion of earthquakes and volcanoes. Special attention is paid to climatic influences. The author rejects the theory that changes of climate, especially fluctuations in rainfall, have been sufficient to explain the decadence of ancient civilization. The authorities on both sides are listed and an extensive bibliography on the subject appended. Sympathetic reference is made to the hypothesis of soil exhaustion as a cause of agricultural decline. This point is not elaborated by the author. The second part of the book deals with the barrier boundaries of the region, raising problems that have perplexed every power seeking the political, economic, and cultural unity of the Mediterranean lands. The third part, concerned with vegetation and agriculture, is solid throughout. The best chapter in this section is the one describing grain production and the grain trade. The concluding section is devoted to maritime activities, peculiar conditions of navigation, the interesting phenomenon of piracy, and the decisive role of geography in Mediterranean colonization.

It is regrettable that the author does not trace systematically the evolution of geographical science in antiquity. Also, a wealth of papyrological material is overlooked as well as Rostovtzeff's "Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire." There is a dearth of maps and some of those used might be improved. Just the same, the work stands up as one of the most ambitious on the subject in English.

STERLING TRACY

Barnard College

The First Century of English Feudalism. By F. M. Stenton. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1932. viii, 311 pp. \$4.00.

Every teacher of medieval history, most notably in its constitutional aspects, must at some time have been conscious that most of our studies of feudalism have been concerned with its relations to monarchies and states and to rural economic organization. Too little has been written about the feudal barons themselves and about the local organizations which they controlled, with the result that the atmosphere, let us say, of *The Story of William of Orange* or the other *chansons de geste*, has seemed almost foreign to our medieval histories. The chief reason for this state of affairs has been the very fragmentary condition of the records of the local franchises.

Now Professor Stenton has made a great stride towards correcting this situation for England between 1066 and 1166. He has used all the available printed records and has secured a remarkably comprehensive collection from unprinted materials as well. He is a thorough master of his subject and has drawn exten-

sively on the related investigations of other scholars, among them his wife, a noted collector of early charters. He has been remarkably generous in quotation, *verbatim* and in translation, of the newly available records.

The result is, of course, a highly technical book, but one which derives a good deal of grace and ease from its original form as the Ford Lectures for 1929. It is not too much to say that sections of this volume recall the illuminating style of F. W. Maitland. There is no more difficult task than to preserve a tentative attitude where evidence is slight and still to indicate permissible conclusions with appropriate vigor. Professor Stenton's successes in this matter are often remarkable and they add great weight to the occasions when he feels himself entitled to speak with assurance.

It is quite impossible in a short review more than barely to indicate the contents of this book. It stems from the work of J. H. Round and C. H. Haskins. It demonstrates that, compared with conditions after 1066, England had relatively no feudal organization before the Norman Conquest. It bridges the gap between Anglo-Norman England and the systematization which Henry II began in 1166. It recreates with remarkable completeness the feudal states in miniature which we know of as baronial honours. Even examples of household organization analogous to the royal household have been uncovered. There is some shrewd comment on the famous Salisbury Oath (pp. 111-113) and on Maitland's use of Bishop Oswald of Worcester's letter (pp. 122-130). The treatments of knight service and scutage in Chapter V are judicious and useful. In all, we have here an indispensable guide to early feudal England. B.

The Literature of the New Testament. By E. F. Scott. Columbia University Press, New York, 1932. xiv, 312 pp. \$3.00.

We have in this work a very good, fairly brief, and somewhat popular introduction to the New Testament literature by an outstanding American expert in the field. The style is attractive, for a book of this kind, and all the books of the New Testament are covered, with extra chapters on the nature and origin of the New Testament, on the formation of the Canon, and on the Synoptic Problem. The general tone of the scholarship is of course very high, as would only be expected from such an expert.

Let us note some of his conclusions on the more widely disputed matters in New Testament scholarship. He doubts, with the great majority of modern scholars except the conservatives, the traditional ascription of the "Epistle of James" and dates it about 100 A.D. He also doubts (I think with far less reason) the Petrine authorship of I Peter and favors a date late in Domitian's reign. He favors the Lukan authorship of Acts with a date about 90 A.D., but denies dependence on Josephus. "Ephesians" is brilliantly and convincingly defended as Pauline, and he seems to the present writer to be entirely right in so doing. On the Synoptic Problem he not only is uneasy of deriving any confident conclusions (except

negative ones) from Form Criticism, but he even seems to reject the now famous and widely accepted Proto-Luke hypothesis. He seems to the present writer to underestimate the force of the arguments of Streeter, Vincent Taylor, etc., though no doubt others often consider the matter more definitely settled than it is. His general estimate of the historical reliability of the Gospels is very favorable. Though rather well down in the first century in date, he grants that they go back to much earlier sources and to still earlier and carefully preserved traditions. The very multiplicity of ultimate sources, all giving a consentient and harmonious picture of the historical Jesus, is a very powerful guarantee of its reliability.

The treatment of the Fourth Gospel is the least satisfactory. Time and again we run into a most surprising handling of the evidence. Something which was "at least a possibility" on one page becomes "most probably" a little further on without additional reasons being adduced. He expresses (p. 238 bottom) the utterly amazing view (to the present reviewer) that on the whole the external evidence for and against the Johannine authorship is about evenly balanced. I find such an opinion simply incomprehensible. Surely Dr. Scott is deceiving himself. Does he really mean to assert that if the Fourth Gospel were as irreproachable historically he would have a second's hesitation in setting aside the so-called evidence for the martyrdom? Possibly the historical difficulties the Gospel raises may require the rejection of the overwhelmingly



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onesided testimony of the external evidence. But we ought not to hide from ourselves the fact that it is internal evidence and not external evidence that turns the scales, if turned they must be; for to do so warps our estimate of the relative weight of the pros and cons of the case as a whole, and warps it gravely.

Again (p. 244 middle) Dr. Scott finds that there are "no grounds for assuming that the Elder who wrote the Epistles was the Elder John." None except the fact that he assumes an authority exceeding that of the monarchical bishop Diotrephes in III John and that a unanimous and very strong tradition ascribes them to a great, influential John, who if not the Apostle can hardly be other than the great substitute for him that modern critics have discovered. And there is much other evidence. But to Dr. Scott all of this gives "no grounds." The Johannine authorship must go, and the evidence must give way to this necessity. But why must it go? Has anyone really adequately tried to admit both the Johannine authorship and the highly unhistorical character of the Gospel and see if age, environment, religious experience, psychology, and a host of contributing considerations do not make possible a reconciliation of the two well evidenced admissions. I know of no such effort, at least on any nearly adequate scale.

But let us close in another key. The book as a whole is remarkably free from such faults and is a splendid contribution to our literature in this field. Being rather more "popular" than McNeile, Wade, Peake or Moffatt it will play a valuable rôle, especially in use among the well educated but not technically trained laity and the less scholarly among the clergy. It is to be highly recommended.

FELIX L. CIRLOT

Nashota House
Nashota, Wisconsin

Book Notes

H. M. Cory's *Compulsory Arbitration of International Disputes* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1932; xiii, 281 pp. \$3.50) is a highly suggestive study of an important aspect of international relations. Readers interested generally in international affairs will find it useful in clearing up doubts, raised by uncritical public discussion, as to the precise scope and number of existing commitments to compulsory arbitration; at the same time the text as annotated makes available material of great value to closer students of the subject. With the author's statement (pp. 114-115) that "a treaty of arbitration is truly compulsory if it provides that a permanent court shall take jurisdiction on the application of one party when other methods of settlement have failed, one may be in general agreement; but it goes upon the assumption, reluctantly conceded and perhaps not fully justified, that an enlightened nation will bind itself to arbitrate, but evade its obligation when a dispute arises fairly within the scope of the treaty by refusing to set up a tribunal to deal with it. This review of the history

of compulsory arbitration strikingly discloses the propensity of diplomats to indulge in comprehensive phrases in this class of treaties while at the same time carefully charting avenues of escape therefrom. It is reassuring to learn that post-war European arbitration treaties show a marked tendency not to insist upon the pre-war reservations of vital interests, national honor, etc., although these catch-phrases do occasionally reappear. The volume presents a good brief treatment of the Optional Clause of the World Court Statute, with a full list of ratifications; also a review of the cases which have gone to the Hague Permanent Court and the World Court, under binding arbitral commitments. The author rightly stresses the great importance of the compromissory clauses in hundreds of treaties negotiated since the World War, under which disputes concerning their interpretation or application are reserved for judicial decision. On the whole, the progress of compulsory arbitration as pictured in this volume, especially since the World War, is encouraging; indeed, it is a far cry from the struggle at the Second Hague Conference, a quarter century ago, to secure any concrete recognition whatever of compulsory arbitration, to the Optional Clause, already binding upon more than thirty nations. Nor is the value of this achievement diminished by the fact that few disputes have thus far been settled under compulsory arbitration agreements, because, as the author intimates, the very existence of such agreements may predispose statesmen to settle their differences out of court. The value of a judicial system is not to be measured by the volume of business it transacts.—EDMUND C. MOWER

Eric C. Wendelin has prepared a highly practical reference work entitled *Subject Index to the Economic and Financial Documents of the League of Nations, 1927-1930* (Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1932; 190 pp.). The index groups under specific headings detailed references to all the various documentary materials pertaining thereto. Thus, under the item "Double Taxation and Fiscal Evasion" are listed references to all the treaties, conventions, bibliographies, League resolutions, titles of international agreements, etc., etc., that are relevant to the heading. The index is exceptionally easy to use, is attractively printed and bound, and is an indispensable supplement to M. J. Carroll's *Key to League of Nations Documents*.

Robert Machray's *Poland, 1914-1931* (New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1932, 447 pp.) is a rather uncritical chronicle of political and economic development in Poland since the outbreak of the World War. The author is definitely pro-Polish and pro-Pilsudski in sympathy and the volume therefore is without objectivity. The treatment, however, is strictly chronological and the book lacks unity. It is difficult to follow through any one topic and the general impression gained is that of a series of unconnected sections varying in length from a dozen lines to several pages. The bibliography is limited. On the other hand, the book does contain much information that is otherwise

available only in scattered places, and the illustrations are well chosen.—W. C. L.

A new atlas has been prepared especially to meet a demand from many colleges and secondary schools for a small but adequate atlas for survey courses in Modern European History. (*Atlas of Medieval and Modern History*. By William R. Shepherd. Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1932. 80 pages of maps and an index of 42 pages \$3.00.) This atlas contains 69 fewer maps than the larger *Historical Atlas*, from which its maps have been selected. In reality this number does not reflect a large omission of maps on European History since many of the 69 were maps on American History. The maps are identical with those in the larger edition and bring the same excellencies for student use at a much less price. For an understanding of Medieval History, maps of the Roman Empire in Fourth century and a physical map of Europe should have been included.—I. W. R.

The Causes of War (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1932; xxix, 235 pp., \$1.50) is the publication title of a report to the World Conference for International Peace through Religion made by some of the world's outstanding men in various fields of endeavor. Edited by Arthur Porritt, the volume contains a chapter each on the economic causes of war, by Sir Arthur Salter; on industrial and labor influences, by G. A. Johnston; on racial influences, by C. F. Andrews; on religion as a cause of war, by Henry A. Atkinson; on science and war, by Sir J. A. Thomson; on the cultural causes of war, by Alfred Zimmern; on the press and world peace, by Frederick J. Libby; and on the political causes, by Wickham Steed. Supplementary chapters deal with the influence on world relations of national monopolies of raw materials, with tariffs, and with the economic occasions of conflict in the Far East. At the beginning of the book there is a most convenient summary of the main points brought out in each of the chapters. No person who would be well-informed on the question of war and peace should fail to read and study this interesting little manual.

The current popular interest in the question of disarmament has resulted in the publication of a number of works dealing with the subject of armament limitation. Of these works, one of the best is Denys P. Myers' *World Disarmament: Its Problems and Prospects* (Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1932; 370 pp.). The volume discusses the present state of armament controls, the existing situation with respect to arbitration obligations and national security, the development of the Draft Convention presented to the Geneva Disarmament Conference in 1932, the problems of material and expenditure control, the place of chemicals in warfare, and the value of publicity as a means of armament control. The appendix, which contains one hundred pages, includes the texts of a number of important documents relating to various phases of security and disarmament as well as statis-

tical notes on such vital matters as world armament strength and national armament expenditures. The book is fully documented, is optimistic in outlook, and, like all of Mr. Myers' works, an invaluable handbook on the subject with which it deals.

Books on History and Government Published in the United States from November 19, to December 17, 1932

LISTED BY CHARLES A. COULOMB, PH.D.

AMERICAN HISTORY

- Barker, Eugene C., and others. Old Europe and our nation. Evanston, Ill.: Row Peterson; 488 pp.; \$1.28.
- Barker, E. C., and others. Our nation begins. Evanston, Ill.: Row Peterson; 352 pp.; \$1.00.
- Burnham, S., and Jack, T. H. The story of America for young Americans. Phila.: Winston; 328 pp.; 96c.
- Cochran, Thomas C. New York in the Confederation. Phila.: Univ. of Pa. Press.; 229 pp. (18 p. bibl.); \$2.50.
- Conger, J. L., and Hull, W. E. History of the Illinois River Valley. 3 vols. Chicago: S. J. Clarke Pub. Co.; 1728 pp.; \$40.00.
- Coy, Errol V. Pioneers in Penn's Woods. Shippensburg, Pa.: Beidel Pr. House; 189 pp.
- Davidson, Grace Gillam, compiler. Early records of Georgia. Macon, Ga.: J. W. Burke Co.; 409 pp.; \$7.50.
- Emancipator, The. Published by Elihu Emberrer. Jonesborough, Tenn. Complete reprint. Nashville: B. H. Murphy; 401½ Church St.; 123 pp.; \$4.50.
- Greene, Evarts B., and Harrington, V. D. American population before the Federal Census of 1790. N.Y.: Columbia Univ. Press; 250 pp. (12 p. bibl.); \$3.50.
- Hoopes, Alban W. Indian affairs and their administration, 1849-1860. Phila.: Univ. of Pa. Press; 273 pp. (8 p. bibl.); \$2.50.
- Lowrie, Samuel H. Culture conflict in Texas, 1821-1835. N.Y.: Columbia Univ. Press; 189 pp. (6 p. bibl.); \$3.00.
- Martin, Bessie. Desertion of Alabama troops from the Confederate Army. N.Y.: Columbia Univ. Press; 281 pp. (16 p. bibl.); \$4.50.
- Wharton, Clarence R. The Lone Star State; a school history. Dallas, Tex.: Southern Pub. Co.; 1033 Young St.; 400 pp.; \$1.00.

ANCIENT HISTORY

- Dougherty, Raymond P. The Sealand of Ancient Arabia. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press; 215 pp.; \$3.00.
- Gregory, Abu'l Faraj. Chronography of Gregory Abu'l Faraj. 2 vols. N.Y.: Oxford; 582 pp.; \$27.50.
- Hamilton, Edith. The Roman way. [a picture of Roman civilization] N.Y.: Norton; 291 pp.; \$3.00.
- Hölscher, Uvo. Excavations at ancient Thebes. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press; 72 pp.; \$1.00.

- Jolowicz, H. F. Historical introduction to the study of Roman law. N.Y.: Macmillan; 558 pp.; \$5.75.
- Meritt, Benjamin D. Athenian financial documents of the fifth century. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Univ. of Mich. Press; 206 pp.; \$3.50.
- Petrie, A. An introduction to Greek history, antiquities and literature. N.Y.: Oxford; 160 pp.; 95c.
- Robinson, Cyril E. A history of the Roman republic. N.Y.: Crowell; 482 pp.; \$3.00.
- Westermarck, Edward. Early beliefs and their social influence. N.Y.: Macmillan; 182 pp.; \$1.40.
- Winlock, Herbert E. The tomb of Queen Meryet Amun at Thebes. N.Y.: Metropolitan Mus.; 112 pp.; \$10.00.

ENGLISH HISTORY

- Gray, Howard L. The influence of the Commons on early legislation. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press; 441 pp.; \$4.00.
- Hamilton, Henry. The industrial revolution in Scotland. N.Y.: Oxford; 309 pp.; \$4.50.
- Rightmire, George W. The law of England at the Norman conquest. Columbus, Ohio: F. J. Herr Pr. Co.; 188 pp.; \$2.00.

EUROPEAN HISTORY

- Meinke, W. G. An outline of modern European history. N.Y.: Harcourt; 48 pp. (2 p. bibl.); 50c.

THE WORLD WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

- Dulles, Eleanor L. The Bank for International Settlements at work. N.Y.: Macmillan; 643 pp. (15 p. bibl.); \$5.00.
- Salandra, Antonio. Italy and the Great War. N.Y.: Longmans; 382 pp.; \$6.00.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

- Richards, Gertrude R. B. Florentine Merchants in the age of the Medici. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press; 353 pp.; \$4.50.

MISCELLANEOUS

- Magenis, A., and Gilmour, M. F. Directed high school history study; bk. 2. Yonkers, N.Y.: World Bk. Co.; 207 pp.; 84c.

BIOGRAPHY

- Milligan, Clarence. Captain William Kidd. Phila.: Dorrance; 170 pp.; \$1.75.
- Rhodes, Charles D. Robert E. Lee, the West Pointer. Huntingdon, W.Va.: R. E. Lee Memorial Found.; 48 pp.; \$1.50.
- Looker, Earle. Colonel Roosevelt, private citizen. N.Y.: Revell; 222 pp.; \$2.50.
- Lewis, Lloyd. Sherman, fighting prophet. N.Y.: Harcourt; 702 pp. (15 p. bibl.); \$3.50.
- Cory, David M. Faustus Socinus. Boston: Beacon Press; 164 pp. (3 p. bibl.); \$2.00.
- Van Rensselaer, Jeremias. Correspondence of Jeremias Van Rensselaer, 1651-1674. Albany, N.Y.: Univ. of the State of New York; 494 pp.; \$1.50.
- Washington, George. Letters of George Washington in the library of the Connecticut Historical Society. Hartford, Conn.; Conn. Hist. Soc.; 53 pp.; \$2.00.

- McKown, Paul. Certain important domestic policies of Woodrow Wilson. Phila.: Univ. of Pa.; 117 pp.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

- Jackson, J., and King-Hall, S. The League of Nations Yearbook, 1932. N.Y.: Macmillan; 604 pp.; \$3.50.
- Larzelere, F. H. Government of Michigan. Hillsdale, Mich.; Hillsdale School Supply & Pub. Co.; 138 pp.
- Lee, H. B. The story of the Constitution [of the United States]. Charlottesville, Va.: Michie Co.; 304 pp.; \$4.00.
- Powell, Thomas R. The Supreme Court and state police power, 1922-1930. Charlottesville, Va.: Michie Co.; 318 pp.
- Spencer, Henry R. Government and politics of Italy. Yonkers, N.Y.: World Bk. Co.; 319 pp.; \$1.60.

Historical Articles in Current Periodicals

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GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

- The Relation of History to Politics. F. J. C. Hearnshaw (*Contemporary Review*, December).
- Why History Needs to be Rewritten. R. C. Clark (*Oregon Historical Quarterly*, December).
- Some Present-Day Movements in Religion. W. B. Selbie (*Contemporary Review*, December).
- Why World History? E. M. Pahlow (*Education*, December).
- Capitalizing History in the School. Carl Becker (*Education*, December).
- Two Notes on the History of Alexander the Great. C. A. Robinson, Jr. (*American Journal of Philology*, October, November, December).
- The Early Development of the Law of Contraband. I. P. C. Jessup and Francis Deák (*Political Science Quarterly*, December).
- The Emperor Charles of Austria. Herbert Vivian (*English Review*, December).
- Gustavus Adolphus. G. P. Gooch (*Contemporary Review*, December).
- The Permanent Bases of Japanese Foreign Policy. Viscount Kikujiro Ishii (*Foreign Affairs*, January).
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- The Third International American Conference at Rio de Janeiro, 1906. A. C. Wilgus (*Hispanic American Historical Review*, November).
- War Legends: I. Italy and the Triple Alliance; II. The Roman Church and the Entente. Count Sforza (*Contemporary Review*, December).
- The Emancipation of Iraq from the Mandate System. L. H. Evans (*American Political Science Review*, December).
- Iraq: the End of a Mandate. Rupert Emerson (*Foreign Affairs*, January).

BRITISH EMPIRE

- The Muniments of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. J. C. Milne (*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, November).
- Commissions of the Peace, 1380-1485. Rosamond Sillem (*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, November).
- French Graves of English Kings. G. L. Merchant (*Fortnightly Review*, December).
- The Loved Elizabeth. Clemence Dane (*Yale Review*, Winter).
- The Death of Charles II. J. G. Muddiman (*Month*, December).
- Lord Roberts and the General Staff. G. F. Ellison (*Nineteenth Century*, December).
- The Decisive Battles of Scotland. J. M. MacLennan (*Scots Magazine*, December). 3. Battle of Largs.
- The Critical Period of British Columbia History, 1866-1871. W. N. Sage (*Pacific Historical Review*, December).
- Reciprocity and the Genesis of a Canadian Commercial Policy. D. C. Masters (*Canadian Historical Review*, December).
- Responsible Government and the Irresponsible Governor. W. M. Whitelaw (*Canadian Historical Review*, December).
- The Pedlars from Quebec. W. S. Wallace (*Canadian Historical Review*, December).
- The Drama of the Indian Empire. Reginald Craddock (*Nineteenth Century*, December).
- The Secession Movement in South Africa. E. H. Brookes (*Foreign Affairs*, January).

UNITED STATES AND DEPENDENCIES

- Herbert Levi Osgood. H. J. Coppock (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, December).
- Legislative Committees and Commissions in the United States. J. A. Fairlie (*Michigan Law Review*, November).
- Asiatic Migrations into America. Marius Barbeau (*Canadian Historical Review*, December).
- Chain Newspapers in the United States. E. N. Doan (*Journalism Quarterly*, December).
- Notes on the Rhode Island Admiralty, 1727-1790. F. B. Wiener (*Harvard Law Review*, November).
- The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina, and Religious Liberty in the Province of North Carolina. J. B. Chesire (*Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, December).
- The Moravians and Their Missionaries: a Problem in Americanization. Marie J. Kohnova (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, December).
- The Highland Scots of Georgia (concluded). Edith E. MacQueen (*Scots Magazine*, December).
- Beginnings of the Church of England in Georgia. E. L. Pennington (*Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, December).
- Oliver Pollock and the Free Navigation of the Mississippi River. J. A. James (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, December).
- The Publication of Newspapers during the American Revolution. C. M. Thomas (*Journalism Quarterly*, December).
- The Californians in Spain's Pacific Otter Trade, 1775-1795. Adele Ogden (*Pacific Historical Review*, December).
- Notes on the Siege of Yorktown in 1781, with special reference to the Conduct of a Siege in the Eighteenth Century. Col. J. W. Wright (*William and Mary College Quarterly*, October).
- The Rock Landing (Indian) Conference of 1789. Lucia B. Kinnaird (*North Carolina Historical Review*, October).
- The Epicure of the White House. Marie Kimball (*Virginia Quarterly Review*, January). Thomas Jefferson.
- The Medical Service in the War of 1812, II. L. C. Duncan (*Military Surgeon*, December).
- New York Agriculture Meets the West, 1830-1850. R. H. Anderson (*Wisconsin Magazine of History*, December).
- A Politician of Expansion: Robert Walker. H. D. Jordan (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, December).
- An Early Chapter in the American Sheep Industry. (*Bulletin of the Business Historical Society*, November).
- Iron-Making: a Forgotten Industry of North Carolina. L. J. Cappon (*North Carolina Historical Review*, October).
- Immigrant Letters. Joseph Schafer (*Wisconsin Magazine of History*, December).
- Nashotah House: Wisconsin's Oldest School of Higher Learning. J. H. A. Lecher (*Wisconsin Magazine of History*, December).
- Official Immigration Activities of Dakota Territory. H. S. Schell (*North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, October).
- The North Dakota Capital Fight. Merle Potter (*North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, October).
- John Sherman and Reconstruction. J. G. Randall (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, December).
- Debs v. the United States: a Judicial Milepost on the Road to Absolutism. F. R. Black (*University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, December).
- Theodore Roosevelt and the South. H. F. Pringle (*Virginia Quarterly Review*, January).
- The World Cruise of the American Battleship Fleet, 1907-1909. T. A. Bailey (*Pacific Historical Review*, December).
- Pacific History in Latin American Periodicals. R. D. Hassey (*Pacific Historical Review*, December).
- The United States in the Pacific, Sept. 1, 1931-Sept. 1, 1932. T. A. Bisson (*Pacific Affairs*, December).
- The Good Offices of the United States during the Sino-Japanese War. P. J. Treat (*Political Science Quarterly*, December).
- The World Court and the Senate Reservations. G. W. Wickersham (*George Washington University Law Review*, November).

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